

**The**  
**American Historical Review**

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION AT WASHINGTON

COUNTING two meetings which were held partly in Washington and partly in Baltimore and Richmond respectively, twelve of the thirty-five annual meetings of the American Historical Association have been held in the national capital—that of 1886, presided over by the venerable George Bancroft, and those of 1888–1891 inclusive, of 1894 and 1895, of 1901, 1905, 1908, 1915, and 1920. The act of January 4, 1889, incorporating the society, provides that it shall have its principal office at Washington, though it may hold its annual meetings where it pleases. Other provisions of the act, concerning relations with the Smithsonian Institution, emphasize the Washington connection, and the Association is always entitled to consider itself more distinctly at home in Washington than in any other city, and to meet there without specific invitation, though always assured of cordial welcome by the resident members. Under such circumstances, if the resident members are obliged to feel that they have done less for the entertainment of their fellow-members on occasion of the annual meeting than has been done in some other cities, they console themselves with the reflection that Washington is the society's legal home, that every citizen of the United States has his or her share in its ownership, and that the city has many intrinsic attractions of its own, independent of whatever pleasures might be devised to accompany a professional gathering of historical scholars. Not the least of these attractions is a winter climate milder than that of most of the cities where the Association has met; but there are also the buildings and other sights of Washington, and, an attraction having especial drawing power for historians, the printed and manuscript treasures of the Library of Congress and the archives—if in their present condition they deserve to be called archives—of the national government.

By whatever attractions drawn, the number of members attending the thirty-fifth meeting, December 28-30, 1920, was much greater than had been expected. At the Washington meeting of 1915 the registration was 430; but railroad fares have grown higher since then, teachers poorer. Moreover, the railroads proved as unwilling this year as the United States Railroad Administration had been in the year preceding to make any concessions as to reduction of railroad fares for such an occasion. They could not be persuaded to class the American Historical Association's meeting among "meetings of religious, educational, charitable, fraternal, or military character". Most members, it is hoped, found the meeting both educational and fraternal; at all events, members came in unexpected numbers. The registration amounted to 360. The other societies meeting at the same time—the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Catholic Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Agricultural History Society—also had gratifying numbers registering. The subscription dinner, in which all the societies joined, had an attendance of three hundred, and the breakfast-conferences and luncheon-conferences for informal discussion of themes or projects assumed to have a special interest for merely a limited number of members had on this occasion so embarrassing a number of attendants that at meetings hereafter held it will seem difficult to combine the feeding of the multitude with the preaching of the word.

The subscription dinner deserves a special comment. Such functions are expensive, and the Association had seldom ventured to have them; but this particular dinner, a joint affair of all the societies, amply justified itself. No one who heard the incisive remarks of the French ambassador on historical processes and modern events, or the Secretary of War's penetrating and brilliant discussion of the relation of history to the Great War, or Dr. J. J. Walsh's witty speech on historical assumptions respecting progress, is likely ever to forget the occasion. Dr. Walsh spoke as representative of the American Catholic Historical Association, of which he had that day been elected president. Others who spoke were Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, president of the American Political Science Association, and Dr. Edward A. Ross for the American Sociological Society. At the beginning, graceful words of welcome on behalf of the municipal government were spoken by Miss Mabel Boardman, one of the Commissioners for the District of Columbia.

Other occasions on which there was union of societies were the

joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by the president of that society, Professor Chauncey S. Boucher, of the University of Texas; the joint session with the Agricultural History Society, at which its president, Dr. Rodney H. True, of the Department of Agriculture, acted as chairman; and three joint sessions with the American Political Science Association. The first of these three was the occasion when the presidents of the two societies delivered their annual addresses, Dr. Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress, presiding. The thoughtful address of Professor Edward Channing, of Harvard, as president of the American Historical Association, entitled *An Historical Retrospect*, was printed in our last issue.<sup>1</sup> That of Dr. Reinsch, on *Secret Diplomacy: How far can it be Eliminated?* is expected to appear later in one of the journals of political science.

The second of these joint sessions was concerned with Pan-American Political and Diplomatic Relations, and was held, appropriately, under the chairmanship of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, the new director of the Pan-American Union, and in the Union's beautiful building; (nearly all other meetings were held in the New Willard Hotel, the Association's headquarters). In both this session and the luncheon-conference on the history of Latin America which preceded it, the same tendency was noticeable that has been seen on previous occasions when the Association has made provision for the consideration of Hispanic American history, the tendency, namely, to turn away from that history to the consideration of present-day problems of the mutual relations between the Latin American republics and the United States. The truth is that while interest in these present relations is acute and extensive, and while the history of those portions of the present United States that were once under Spain is being cultivated with exceptional ardor, the historical study of the regions to the southward of our boundaries is still in its infancy among us.

The third of these joint sessions occurred on the last evening, when, under the chairmanship of Baron Korff, formerly of the University of Helsingfors but now of Washington, papers were read on aspects of recent European history and politics. At the close of the session, Baron Korff in graceful words expressed thanks on behalf of the Association to the committees who had been in charge of the meeting and to those who as hosts had entertained the members. In the Historical Association, the chairman of the committee of local arrangements was Dr. H. Barrett Learned, the secretary

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 191-202, above.

Dr. George F. Zook, of the Bureau of Education. The chairman of the committee on the programme was Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University. The entertainments included a "smoker" at the Cosmos Club, an evening reception by the National Club House Committee of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and a most pleasant afternoon reception at the French embassy by the ambassador and Madame Jusserand.

The "luncheon-conferences" were four. One was composed, as has already been mentioned, of persons chiefly interested in Latin America, another of those interested in the history of the Far East. Another was devoted, with excellent results, to practical considerations respecting the study and teaching of economic history. In this conference formal papers were read. Professor Clive Day, of Yale University, who presided, spoke on the recognition of economic history as a distinct subject, reviewing its history, and discriminating between those elementary courses in which its fusion with general history is desirable and those more advanced stages of instruction to which separate and special courses are more appropriate. Professor Abbott P. Usher, of the School of Business Administration in Boston University, spoke on the field for the teaching of economic history in colleges and secondary schools. It appears that in most colleges and universities where economic history finds a place the chief provision for it consists in a course which gives one semester to the economic history of Europe and one to that of America. Many difficulties, especially in the intricate subjects of medieval agriculture and commerce, are avoided by beginning the European part of the course with the Industrial Revolution, but such a procedure sacrifices too much of what is stimulating to the student, to whom the contrast between medieval and modern conditions, medieval and modern forms of social organization, especially in the field of industry, is sure to be highly instructive. Within the last few years economic history has become an important subject in the curricula of business schools, especially their undergraduate divisions, now rapidly growing. Here, little other history can be taught; economic history must give elementary training in both historical and statistical method, and must be co-ordinated with the work descriptive of industries and, in general, of present-day economic organization. The speaker doubted the wisdom of trying to extend economic history into the field of secondary and vocational education.

In the same conference, Professor Hayes, of Columbia University, spoke on the relation of courses in economic history to courses



in history and in economics, respectively; Professor Frank T. Carlton, of De Pauw University, on the history of labor as a field for historical research, with especial emphasis on the need for comparative study of the structure and operation of different types of labor organizations, considered as social forces.

Much the most numerously attended of these luncheon-conferences was that which was concerned with the opportunities for historical research in Washington. By the courtesy of the librarian of Congress, it took place in the Library. The circumstances confined the speakers—Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, Mr. Charles Moore, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Mr. Theodore Belote, curator of American history in the National Museum, and Professor Frederick J. Turner—to the elements of the subject, but it was impressive and most gratifying to see the eager interest with which their hearers, mostly young graduate students, absorbed these elements of knowledge and incitement concerning the historical treasures of Washington. Would that some adequate appreciation of the opportunities presented here might be diffused among the members of the historical profession, and all others who are interested in history! How do they escape the knowledge that Washington is far the best place for the study of most of the really important parts of American history? Certainly no city in the world so richly provided with historical materials is so little resorted to for purposes of historical writing. From a country of such enormous wealth, there should be, outside the number of those who earn their living in Washington by the teaching of history or other historical work, and the occasional professors who come on leave of absence, at least fifty scholars able to *vivere suo* who have settled down in Washington to lead the historical student's life and exploit this wonderfully opulent mass of material. There are not five. But apparently the well-to-do young American, though nowadays he goes or is sent to college, seldom acquires from either parents or teachers the conviction that there is an inviting career in further study. He is not found in the graduate school. Yet historical writing has never been a poor man's pursuit, but always a pursuit of the well-to-do or the endowed—and in America, with no Congregation of St. Maur, the endowed class has embraced only professors of history, and them only in the happy years from 1880 to 1914, when professors still had some free time!

But to return to the meeting. Before proceeding to those papers which can best be taken into consideration individually, one should speak of two sessions which had more the character of "experience

meetings", or of free conferences unencumbered by meals, than of assemblages for the reading of formal papers—the usual annual meeting of the Conference of Historical Societies and the conference which met to discuss the report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools. The former, presided over by Dr. James Sullivan, state historian of New York, was given the shape of a joint meeting of the representatives of historical societies and of the National Association of State War History Organizations. For the latter body, which now embraces some fifteen of the organizations which states have formed for the collection and preservation of their records of service in the Great War, Mr. Karl Singewald, of the historical division of the Maryland Council of Defense, presented a report of Progress in the Collection of War Records by State War History Organizations; Professor Albert E. McKinley, secretary of the Pennsylvania War History Commission, a paper of Suggestions and Plans for State and Local Publications of War History. The materials chiefly collected are, first, the service-records of individuals; secondly, other military records, such as histories of units, diaries, rosters, photographs, etc.; thirdly, various materials relating to economic participation in the war, and to welfare and morale work. The projected publications correspond: histories of military participation, histories of economic effort, histories of the welfare movements.

In respect to the work of historical societies, the main subject was that of co-operation of societies within the individual state. Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, described the intensive survey of the settlement of that state which is being carried on by the co-operative efforts of that society and of the local historical societies, and to which has been given the appropriate title of the Wisconsin Domesday Book; Dr. Worthington C. Ford and Dr. James Sullivan described respectively the work of the Bay State Historical League in Massachusetts, and of the various county and regional federations of historical societies in New York, and dwelt upon the stimulus given to local societies by the contacts afforded by these groupings.

At the close of the session the Conference of Historical Societies, which enjoys a certain autonomy under the auspices of the Association, held its annual business meeting. Mr. George S. Godard was re-elected chairman for the present year and two special committees were appointed, one to publish if possible a handbook of historical societies, the other to consider a continuation of the bibliography of historical societies compiled to 1905 by Mr. A. P. C.

Griffin and printed as volume II. of the *Annual Report* of the Association for that year. Dr. Dunbar Rowland made a report as chairman of the committee appointed by the Conference in 1907, on co-operation among American historical societies and state departments of history. The project undertaken by the committee, namely, the calendaring of all documents in Parisian archives relating to the Mississippi Valley, for which the societies and departments of that region had raised a fund of \$3000, has been substantially completed, so far as the gathering of material for it is concerned. Dr. Rowland recommended that the offer of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington to edit and publish the calendar be accepted and that the special committee be discharged. This recommendation was adopted.

The Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools was constituted in 1918, first by the National Board for Historical Service and later by the Association, in order to consider those extensive modifications in the methods of historical teaching in schools which, it was then felt, must be brought about as a result of the Great War, in order that history might do its full part in training the minds of the young for proper service to a new era. The history of the committee's work may be traced in these pages and in those of the *Historical Outlook*, where also preliminary reports from it have been printed.<sup>2</sup> Many obstacles have delayed the presentation of its final report. The object of the present conference was the discussion of portions of its proposals, already made known by some of its previous publications.

In the first of the two formal addresses presented, both of them by members of the committee, Professor Henry Johnson, of Teachers College, Columbia University, discussed the questions of Local and American History in Grades II.-VI. and World History in the High School. He described three groups of dominant ideas respecting the aims and subject-matter of history as a theme of instruction: (1) that the past should be used, as needed, to elucidate the present, without regard to boundaries of subjects, such as geography, literature, economics, history, etc.; (2) that there should be systematic study of history, but that the selection of subjects or events to be studied should be determined solely by present interests; (3) that there should be a study of history for its own sake, because it represents what the past was and how the present came to be. The work of the committee was based on the last conception. Professor

<sup>2</sup> See this journal, XXIV. 351-353, 746; XXV. 372-373; *Historical Outlook*, X. 273-281, 349-351, 448-451; XI. 73-83, 111-115.

Johnson then gave concrete illustrations of methods of teaching pupils in the grades. The central idea was that of so presenting material as to lead pupils to do constructive thinking; to use the historical method in implanting the idea of change, in evaluating evidence, and in forming conclusions. The speaker approved the proposal of a course in world history in the high schools.<sup>3</sup>

The secretary of the committee, Mr. Daniel C. Knowlton, outlined the proposed course in modern history for grade X., consisting of a preliminary course of one semester in ancient and medieval history, and a semester in modern history. Main topics and sub-topics were enumerated, chosen for the purpose of showing the progress towards democracy in Europe, for grade X., to be followed by a course in American history with a similar purpose, for grade XI., and one in problems resulting from the growth of democracy, for grade XII. Miss Harriet Tuell, president of the New England History Teachers' Association, criticized the committee's plan as inadequate, as running beyond the capacity of the average high-school pupil, and as laying undue emphasis on one phase of European development, the growth of democracy.

In view of the transfer of the chairman of this committee, Professor Schafer, from Oregon to a new occupation in Wisconsin, and of other changes of occupation by other members, the committee asked to be discharged and to have its work reviewed and concluded by a fresh committee. The Council acceded to this request and appointed a new committee to be called the Committee on History Teaching in Schools, of which the chairman is Professor Johnson.

Another session having a special character was that devoted to the history of science. Its chairman, Dr. Robert S. Woodward, the retiring president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, welcomed the attitude of the American Historical Association towards the history of science, emphasized the need of breaking down the artificial barriers which separate one department of learning or science from another, and recalled plans of earlier years for a general history of the inductive sciences. Of the three papers read, the first was one by Dr. Fielding H. Garrison, librarian of the Surgeon-General's Office, on Recent Realignments in the History of Medieval Medicine and Science. While the most important medical texts of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages were issued in type

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Johnson's address, together with a preliminary report by Mr. Schafer, will be found in the *Historical Outlook* for March, XII. 87-97.

by the Renaissance printers, much of the scientific and medical literature of those times remained in manuscript, and it was not till quite recent years that either the early printed books or the thousands of medical and other scientific manuscripts have been subjected to careful examination. The result has been to show that the medieval physicians were weak in anatomy and in physiology; that internal medicine was with them a matter of tradition, both as to theory and as to practice; but that in surgery and in hygiene their accomplishment was considerable. Other branches of science developed in the Middle Ages chiefly through the pursuit of practical inventions.

The second of these papers in the history of science was one on Developments in Electromagnetism during the Last Hundred Years, by Professor Arthur E. Kennelly, of Harvard.<sup>4</sup> The occasion of this survey was the hundredth anniversary of Oersted's discovery of the connection between electricity and magnetism—of the deflecting of the magnetic needle by an electric current. The development of the subject was traced, from Ampère's epoch-making paper of the same year, 1820, through his subsequent researches, through Faraday's discovery of electromagnetic induction, through the applications to telegraphy, ocean cables, and the telephone, through Clerk Maxwell's researches into the relations between electricity and light, the subsequent investigation of radio-electric waves, and the study of the electron theory of matter. This session concluded with a paper by Professor James H. Robinson, of the New School of Social Research, in New York, on Free Thought, Yesterday and Today. Treating his subject with characteristic wit and pungency of statement, from the point of view of the student of intellectual history, he compared especially the modes of thought of the eighteenth-century deists and other philosophers with our own, and set forth the gains to modern thinking derived from the scientific advance of the last century.

Proceeding now to the main body of substantive papers, or papers read as contributions to history, it must be said that on the whole they seemed to be of less importance or excellence than the average of what has been brought forward on such occasions in the past, yet some were of exceptionally high quality. The most convenient plan for giving some notion of what the papers not already mentioned contained is perhaps to deal with them in the chronological order of their subjects, beginning with ancient history. In the session devoted to that field, the first paper was read by Dr. Donald

<sup>4</sup> Printed in a modified form in the *Boston Transcript* of Jan. 26, 1921.

McFayden, of the University of Nebraska, on the Growth of Autocracy in the Roman Empire. Its main features were an argument that the powers granted to the *princeps* in 23 B. C. did not include a legal *majus imperium* over the senatorial provinces, and, derived from this, a theory of the evolution of the *princeps*' relation to the administration of justice. Contrary to the accepted view, he held that under the Augustan constitution the *princeps* possessed no jurisdiction except over the imperial provinces, that the activities of his judicial court and of that held by the *praefectus urbi* as his deputy were technically unconstitutional, and that the appellate jurisdiction of the *princeps* was simply an outgrowth of the tendency to refer all difficult problems to his arbitrament—to make him the chief jurisconsult of the empire. Hadrian's action in organizing a council of eminent jurisconsults to assist him in rendering his decisions fixed him in that position. The extra-legal origin of the jurisdiction exercised by the *princeps* and his deputies was held to explain the relatively informal character of their procedure, while the alliances between the empire and the professional lawyers impregnated the later Roman law with the spirit of absolutism.

Next followed an important paper on the Origin of the Russian State on the Dnieper, by Professor Mikhail Rostovtsev, formerly of the Petrograd Academy of Sciences, now of the University of Wisconsin. In the ninth century, when the Russian annals begin to give a systematic record, we find Russia to have already a civilization of its own and a well-defined political, social, and economic structure, having for its basis a group of commercial city-states, defended and in part ruled by alien princes invited from without, one of whom, in that century, succeeded in uniting the whole group of cities under one dynasty and into one state, with its capital at Kiev. The problem of the paper was to account for this form of organization, so strikingly different from the agricultural and feudal form prevalent at that epoch in western Europe. It was to be solved only by taking into consideration that earlier history of South Russia of which a portion was treated by Professor Rostovtsev in an article printed in our last number.<sup>5</sup> The civilization depicted in that article as prevailing under the joint influence of the Greek colonial cities and the Iranian-Scythian empire was not destroyed when the Sarmatian power replaced the Scythian, nor when Celtic and after them Germanic invaders came. They took over, as it was their interest to do, the commercial relations which they found; and when the Germans passed on into the Roman Empire and the West,

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 203-224, above.

the Slavs, in the main, simply took their place, founded a state of the same type, took over their towns, their trade-relations, and their civilization—not a Germanic, nor thereafter a Slavonic, civilization, but the ancient Graeco-Iranian civilization of the Scythians and Sarmatians, with slight modifications. The Slavonic is but one of the epochs in the evolution of Russia, but with this difference, that the Slavs made Russia their final aim and home.

A paper on the Problem of Control in Medieval Industry, by Dr. Austin P. Evans, of Columbia University, addressed itself to questions made timely by the recent tendency to extol medieval economic organization as worthy of imitation in our time. The author showed how medieval theories respecting property and value left the government, of state or city, free to control the production and sale of goods. As to the warmly debated question, whether guilds freely controlled industry, whether guilds were everywhere under the control of civil authorities of state or town, or whether guilds had a larger measure of autonomy while the civil authorities maintained residuary power, Mr. Evans held that most commonly the guilds were under the ulterior control of the state, but he deprecated sweeping generalizations in a field marked by so much variety, and also all tendency to idealize the economic organization prevalent in the Middle Ages.

The only other paper in medieval history was one by Professor Louis J. Paetow, of the University of California, on Latin as an International Language in the Middle Ages. Modern civilization, he pointed out, rests on the achievements of Latin Christendom in that period, yet, though the Latin language was the chief engine of civilization throughout those ages, so little effort has been applied to the scholarly study of medieval Latin that Du Cange's *Glossarium*, published in 1678 and augmented largely in the eighteenth century, is still referred to as its standard dictionary. Made international by the Western Church, that speech remained the common medium of communication and literature throughout western Europe, its chief bond of union, until the Italian humanists, while enthusiastically awakening classical Latin to new life, fatally checked the development of the current Latin as a living and international language. Recent efforts to restore Latin to that position were described.

The paper of Professor George M. Dutcher, of Wesleyan University, on the Enlightened Despotism, opened with a brief analysis in which the enlightened despotism was characterized as based upon the authority of reason and not upon humanitarianism. Next the



origin of the movement in Prussia, rather than in the more progressive nations, England and France, was explained. Conditions in the German lands at the close of the Thirty Years' War were sketched with special reference to the situation of the Hohenzollern possessions, and the constructive policy and work of the Great Elector were outlined as the earliest manifestation of the enlightened despotism, whose foremost exponent was that prince's great-grandson, Frederick the Great. Special emphasis was laid upon Frederick's achievement in internal administration during the ten years' truce beginning in 1745, and its imitation by Maria Theresa, in the rival campaigns of preparedness preceding the Seven Years' War. The priority of these reforming activities in administration to the appearance of the famous writings on government by the French philosophical thinkers was brought out as evidence that the enlightened despotism developed as a practical achievement, not as a response to the stimulus of political theorists. In short, it was an effort at administrative efficiency designed for the aggrandizement of the state, which was conceived of as an entity above rulers as well as above subjects and as founded on the authority of reason rather than on divine right.

Later periods of European history were traversed in a summary survey of the Break-up of the Hapsburg Empire, by Professor Archibald C. Coolidge, of Harvard University, and in a paper on Sinn Fein, by Professor Edward R. Turner, of the University of Michigan. Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, of Stanford University, narrated the history of the Spartacist Uprising in Germany, of which he had been an eye-witness in Berlin. Miss Ruth Putnam, in a paper entitled the Aspirations of One Small State, described the evolution of the grand-duchy of Luxemburg from the time when it first obtained the opportunity of self-determination, after the armistice of November, 1918, to recent days. This paper, too, was based in large part on the data of an eye-witness. Problems of labor, finance, railroads, and economic affiliation with the neighboring countries were described, and some account given of the course and achievements of parties under a new constitution providing for woman suffrage and proportional representation.

In a paper on the Establishment of a New Poland, Col. Lucius H. Holt, of the United States Military Academy, traced the establishment of a new government, and political events in Poland from the outbreak of the war in 1914 to the present date. The paper emphasized the work of the Supreme National Committee during the years from 1914 to 1916. It traced briefly the influences which

led the Central Powers to recognize Poland in the autumn of 1915, and the subsequent incidents which revealed the duplicity of Germany and turned the Poles against that country. It summarized the points in the allied recognition of Poland in 1918. It outlined the clash of conflicting political forces in Poland during the armistice period and the result, spoke of the elections of January, 1919, and closed with a statement of the progress made by the Polish Assembly upon the draft of a constitution.

The last of the papers which we may describe as bearing on the history of the Old World was that of Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education, on Syria, Palestine, and Mandates.<sup>6</sup> When the Great War broke out, the Allies found strong support among the Syrian patriots and leaders who under the rule of the Young Turks, or exiled by them, had been contending for an autonomous or independent Syria administered by Arabs with Arabic as official language. Unfortunately, the agreement of October 25, 1915, made between the Sherif of the Hejaz and the British High Commission at Cairo, conflicted with the provisions of the Sykes-Picot treaty between France and Great Britain as to the disposition of the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, that treaty was considered by the Arabs to be superseded by the Anglo-French declaration of November 8, 1918. When, therefore, after the occupation of the territory by General Allenby, mandates were given by the Supreme Council to Great Britain for Palestine and to France for Syria, the Arab Nationalists considered that they had been deceived, opposed the erection of a Zionist commonwealth in Palestine, and entered on a course of conflict with the British in Palestine and of warfare with the French elsewhere in Syria.

At the end of this last session, Dr. Victor Andrés Belaunde, of the University of San Marcos of Lima, Peru, read a brief paper on the Communistic System of the Incas, and the comparison between its features and those of Russian communism under Lenin and Trotski.

Passing now to the papers in American history, it is to be noted that, appropriately to the date, one session was devoted to commemorating the tercentenary of the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers. In this session three papers were read, of which the first, by Professor Clive Day, of Yale University, dealt with Capitalistic and Socialistic Tendencies in the Puritan Colonies. Its special object was to consider a view recently advanced by the late Professor

<sup>6</sup> Printed in the *Journal of International Relations*,

Max Weber of Heidelberg, that, in the development of the modern capitalist and of a capitalistic society; as set forth in Sombart's familiar analysis, an essential source of the capitalist spirit is to be found in the religious beliefs and ethical principles of the Puritans. Confining himself to the Puritans of New England, the speaker set forth the results of a careful examination of their sermons and laws as expressions of their ethical ideals. He did not find that encouragements to industry and thrift bulked large in their sermons and concluded that whatever urgency was manifest toward the accumulation of capital, greatly needed in the colonies, was social, rather than individual and capitalistic, in its motives.

Mr. Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, of Worcester, followed with a paper entitled, *The Settlement of Plymouth Contemplated before 1620*. Its thesis was that Sir Ferdinando Gorges desired a settlement at Plymouth Harbor and did what he could to guide the Pilgrims thither, supplying them with information and endeavoring to arrange that Captain Dermer and Tisquantum should be at hand to point their way, possibly also making private arrangements with Captain Jones of the *Mayflower*.

Thirdly, Professor David S. Muzzey, of Columbia University, in a paper on the Heritage of the Puritans, after acknowledging the defects characteristic of Puritanism but urging that all estimates of these should be based on comparisons with contemporaneous phenomena rather than with those of the present time, set forth in admirable style three principal portions of our inheritance from the Puritans and Pilgrims: the results of their political philosophy, with its insistence on covenant as the basis of civil relations, the influence of the New England town, primordial cell of local self-government, and the emphasis which the Puritans permanently placed upon unremitting education for responsibility.

The paper on the Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution, by Miss Elizabeth Donnan, of Wellesley College, a product of researches conducted on behalf of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, derived its information for the first third of the eighteenth century from official papers, dealing with those aspects of the trade in which British officials and British merchants concerned themselves, such as the import taxes imposed by the colony, payment of debts to British merchants, and monopoly by the Royal Company. From 1732 we have the files of the *South Carolina Gazette* and from 1748 the business letters of Henry Laurens. From these two sources much can be learned concerning the actual process of buying and selling the black cargoes, which were handled

by importing merchants, prominent in Charleston society, who were giving to their British principals copious information concerning weather, crops, prices, and other factors which influenced the market. The paper described in detail such matters as the terms of contract between principal and factor and between factor and purchasing planter, the methods of the auction sales, the range of territory covered, and the risks and difficulties which the factor encountered.

The paper which was read by Professor Fiske Kimball, of the University of Virginia, on Architecture in the History of the Colonies and of the Republic, in which he traversed several current notions as to the influence of pioneer conditions on American colonial building, and emphasized the American elements in the development of classical architecture in the early years of the republic, will be printed in a later issue of this journal.

The paper entitled John Wesley, Tory, by Professor William W. Sweet, of De Pauw University, treated of the activities and influence of Wesley during the American Revolution. In the ten years beginning with 1768 Wesley published ten political pamphlets. The first three were caused by the excitement concerning the case of John Wilkes, and took the side of king and government; the fourth was devoted to the slave trade, of which Wesley was one of the earliest opponents. The remaining six have to do with the American Revolution, the first and most important of them being *A Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (1775). In all of them Wesley invariably supports the king and government. The reasons for his course are complex: he was born and bred a High Churchman and a Tory; he believed in the divine right of kings, for that theory seemed to him the most religious; he was a firm supporter of law and order; he hated rebellion; the king had been kindly disposed toward the Methodists; the king's private life and his court were free from scandal; Lord Dartmouth was a leader in the Evangelical movement. Wesley's position on the American War led to some suspicion and even persecution of American Methodists as Tories, but at the close of the war he was wise enough to recognize the result as providential and set about to organize the American Methodists into an independent church.

In the paper by Professor Homer C. Hockett, of the Ohio State University, on the American Background of Federalism, the endeavor was to show the part played by American influences in the development of the two chief modern federations, the American Union and the British Empire. He held that the immediate back-

ground of our own federalism lay rather in the relations of the colonies to one another than in the previous practices of the British Empire; that while the modern British imperial organization, as a league of autonomous commonwealths, was foreshadowed by the American position in the controversy preceding the Revolution, British policy was not changed by the American contention; but that the essential change in that policy resulted rather from the undermining of mercantilism, and thus of the old colonial system, by Adam Smith's political economy, and from the aggressive demands of the Canadians for responsible government.

Of the papers on American history in the early part of the nineteenth century, that of Professor Louis M. Sears, of Purdue University, on Philadelphia and the Embargo of 1808,<sup>7</sup> adverted first to the ambiguous position of that city in respect to economic status at that time. As a commercial city, Philadelphia was subject to the distress entailed by the embargo upon all sections of the commercial population. But Philadelphia, in common with Baltimore and other ports of the Middle States, possessed an incitement to manufactures in her proximity to the new Trans-Alleghany settlements. She seized her opportunity, actually developed a considerable manufacturing industry, and won prosperity for a greater number of her citizens than the embargo had impoverished. The material expression of this prosperity was a building boom involving the construction of over a thousand houses. The political expression was a continued confidence in the Democratic party and in the wisdom and goodness of Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia being, according to one's point of view, either the shining exception to the folly of the Jeffersonian system, or else the shining example of its wisdom.

In the joint session held with the Agricultural History Society, Professor Percy W. Bidwell, of Yale University, read a paper, which we shall later have the privilege of presenting in full to our readers, on the Agricultural Revolution in New England, 1815-1860, showing how the development of New England manufactures and the creation of factory villages began a transition from farming for a living to farming for profit, how the building of railroads, just as this transition to commercial agriculture was well under way, subjected the New England farmer to disastrous competition from the westward, and how he carried out the readjustment of his economic system which was thus forced upon him.

In the same joint session, Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, of the McCor-

<sup>7</sup> An outline of this paper appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for February, pp. 354-359.

mick Library, Chicago, read a paper on the Influence of the Agricultural Fair upon American Society, 1830-1851, and Mr. Rudolf A. Clemen, of Northwestern University, one on the Economic Bases of the American System of Large-Scale Meat-Packing. Sketching the earlier history of the American trade in livestock and meat and that of the period when Cincinnati was the centre and pork the staple, Mr. Clemen devoted his attention chiefly to the period since the establishment of the Chicago stock-yards in 1865, and to the economic results of the four chief factors, all introduced about 1870-1875, which gave the meat industry the form it has since borne—the system of ranges and ranches in the Far West, the extension of routes of transportation to the sources of supply, the development of refrigeration and of the refrigerator car, and the rise of the great organizers of distribution.

There was but one paper relating to the period of the Civil War, that of Professor Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, on the Control of Manufacturing by the Confederate Government. He showed that while the strong individualism of the South prevented the Confederacy from regulating manufactures as a feature of its civil policy, a rigorous control was established over the production of cloth and leather through military agencies, particularly the quartermaster's bureau. By means of the conscription and impressment laws, the supplies of labor, wool, hides, and railway transportation came under the control of the War Department, which was able to force the factories and tanneries to contract almost exclusively with the government when they preferred the higher profits of the public market. The state government of North Carolina, however, interposed successfully to prevent Confederate control of manufactures in that state and to preserve their products for the exclusive use of North Carolina troops.

Only two papers bore on the history of the United States between 1865 and 1900, none on our history in the twentieth century. Both of these two bore on aspects of that period which derive their significance from the economic problems which emerged with the growth of capitalism after the Civil War and which are still unsolved. The first was a paper by Professor John D. Hicks, of Hamline University, Minnesota, on the Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly, who figured in the politics of Minnesota and of the nation, throughout the period named, as the champion, ardent but unpractical, of every movement that gave promise of bettering the lot of the ordinary man and securing his rights against the claims of property. Indifferent to party—by turns Anti-Monopolist, Green-

backer, Democrat, Republican, Farmers' Alliance man, Populist, Middle-of-the-Roader—he sought his cherished reforms most commonly through third-party movements. His final rejection of opportunist tactics was exhibited when the main body of Populists adopted the policy of fusion with the Democratic party in 1896.

In a paper on Agrarian Discontent in the South during the Eighties and Nineties of the last century, Professor B. B. Kendrick, of Columbia University, dwelt on only two of the causes of that discontent. The primary cause, social, lay in the fact that the Southern farmer occupied in 1890, in the economical, the political, and especially the social life of the country, a position much lower than he had in 1860. The principal economic cause of his unrest lay in the lien-law system—an evil peculiar to the Southern farmer—under which the farmer was almost a serf to the city merchant to whom he happened to be indebted. Other elements in the Southern situation were not peculiar to that section, but were such as, in the case of the West, have been adequately treated in the books of Buck, Haines, Garland, White, and others; but the history of the Southern farmer in that period still awaits systematic investigation.

Papers on Pan-American Political and Diplomatic Relations, the general theme of one of the sessions held jointly by the Historical and the Political Science associations, fall last to be described. That of Professor Herman G. James, of the University of Texas, on Recent Constitutional Changes in Latin America, is printed in full elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> That of Professor Julius Klein, of Harvard, entitled the Monroe Doctrine as a Regional Understanding, was, so far as its historical content is concerned, devoted to an interesting exposition of the ways and extent in which the period of the Great War has brought to the South American republics appreciation of their own capacity for self-development, promoted international co-operation within South America in economic and social matters, enhanced the application of South American capital to industrial and commercial enterprises, and furthered economic independence of Europe while multiplying contacts with North America. The probable bearing of all this on the development of the Monroe Doctrine was described.<sup>9</sup>

Professor Manoel de Oliveira Lima, the eminent Brazilian scholar who has lately become a member of the Catholic University of America, concluded this series with a paper on Pan-Americanism and the League of Nations, in which, after reviewing some earlier

<sup>8</sup> *Current History*,

<sup>9</sup> This paper, and that of Dr. Oliveira Lima next mentioned, will appear in the May number of the *Hispanic-American Historical Review*.



attempts at forming leagues which had originated in South America, he advocated, as the most desirable feature of any league of nations, a supreme court to deal with differences, interpretations, and controversies, and dwelt on the "Pan-American conscience", the consciousness of the need of union in the New World, and its common respect for public law, as secure foundations for any closer relations between its members.

It remains to narrate the transactions of the annual business meeting. The delay in the printing of our January number made it possible to insert in that number, on pages 411 and 412, some account of these transactions, but a fuller narrative is, according to custom, expected in this place, and may be given in spite of some repetition necessarily involved.

The secretary's report showed a membership of 2524, a gain of 79 since the preceding year; the gain is to be attributed to the activity of the Committee on Membership. The treasurer's report showed receipts of \$10,483, expenditures of \$9,786; but the cost of printing the *American Historical Review* has increased to so extraordinary a degree, especially in the latter months of the year, that drastic measures will be necessary in order to avoid a deficit for the year 1921. These costs of manufacture have been steadily rising since the year before the Great War. The publishers' estimates seem to show that in 1921 they will surpass those of the year last mentioned by more than eighty per cent. Instead of paying to the Macmillan Company fifty cents per copy for copies supplied to members of the Association as required by the present contract, it becomes necessary to pay hereafter seventy cents, or per annum \$2.80, nearly the total sum paid to the Association by each member as his annual dues. Therefore the Association voted to submit to the next annual meeting an amendment to the constitution increasing the annual dues from three dollars to five dollars (and the life-membership fee from fifty dollars to one hundred), and in the meantime to authorize the treasurer, when sending out the bills in September, to invite voluntary contributions of from two to five dollars additional to the dues. The text of the proposed amendment to the constitution is given in the appendix to this article. Provision was also made for a Committee on Increase of the Endowment which now stands at \$31,639.

The special Committee on Policy, appointed three years ago, submitted an elaborate report. Many of its recommendations require additional funds for their execution. Such as could be carried into effect under existing conditions were adopted. Thus, in

order to secure permanence and continuity of policy of the Committee on Programme, it was voted that three members of that committee should serve for terms of three years so arranged that one member should retire each year, while the other members were to serve for terms of one year and be selected with reference to locality.<sup>10</sup> Other recommendations of the Committee on Policy, adopted by the Association, provided for continuance or revival of the Public Archives Commission, the Committee on Bibliography, and the Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government, for the discharge, at its own request, as mentioned on a previous page, of the present Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools and the substitution of a new Committee on History Teaching in Schools, and for the establishment of a standing Committee on Military History, whose chief function should be to co-operate with the Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army, and other governmental agencies, national and state, engaged in preparing historical works relative to the recent war. As a means of carrying out the desires which have at times been expressed for a special journal of European history, or an organ for the publication of brief monographs in that field, the Committee on Policy recommended the establishment, when means are at hand, of a series of Historical Studies; the details were referred to a committee.

The budget proposed by the Council is printed on a later page, in connection with an outline of the treasurer's report.

Under the terms of the will of the late George Louis Beer a prize was established, to be known as the George Louis Beer Prize, for the "best work upon any phase of European international history since the year 1895"; a committee was appointed to shape rules for its award. The prize offered in military history, to which the Council had appropriately given the name of the Robert M. Johnston Prize, was awarded to Mr. Thomas R. Hay, for an essay on Hood's Tennessee Campaign. It was announced that the committee on the Justin Winsor Prize had been unable to agree, and the three essays most regarded were referred to a new committee on that prize, appointed for the biennium 1921-1922.

A special committee was appointed by the Council, at the instance of the secretary, to consider the general subject of historical writing (as distinguished from historical research) in the United

<sup>10</sup> We are asked by the chairman of the committee, Professor Evarts B. Greene, to say that he will be pleased to receive from any member of the Association suggestions as to the programme—speakers, topics, etc. Until July 1 his address will be the Colonial Club, Cambridge, Mass.

States and to report as to what means, if any, may be adopted to stimulate the better writing of history. The committee appointed consists of Mr. Jusserand, Dr. Charles W. Colby, and Professor W. C. Abbott; its report on this exceedingly important subject will be awaited with much interest.

A committee of which Professor George M. Dutcher is chairman had been appointed at the preceding annual meeting to prepare a Manual of Historical Literature to replace the well-known work by the late Dr. Charles K. Adams. One of the breakfast-conferences held during the sessions was organized in order that those who are to take part in the preparation of this manual might hear a report of progress and discuss various questions of policy. The committee's plan involves some further chapters additional to those in Dr. Adams's book, the inclusion of at least half as many more titles, but with somewhat briefer reviews, in order to keep the size of the volume not much larger, and the assignment of each of the proposed twenty-nine chapters to an expert in its field, as chapter editor, with assistance from other specialists. It is anticipated that the new work, which was originally suggested by the American Library Association, will find its largest usefulness in public libraries and high schools, but that it will not be without value for teachers and students in colleges and universities. Most of the titles will be of works which have appeared since the publication of Dr. Adams's book, and there will be a somewhat larger proportion of books in English treated.

It was voted, on a hospitable invitation from St. Louis, that the next annual meeting should be held in that city. The dates will probably be December 28, 29, and 30.

The annual elections followed precisely the list presented by the Committee on Nominations. His Excellency the French ambassador, Mr. Jusserand, was chosen president for the ensuing year, Professor Charles H. Haskins first vice-president, Professor Edward P. Cheyney second vice-president. Professor John S. Bassett and Mr. Charles Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively. The election to the Executive Council also followed precisely the committee's list, except that Professor Becker withdrew his name, preferring to continue as a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, whereupon the committee substituted the name of Professor Sioussat. The councillors elected were: Miss Ruth Putnam, Professors Arthur L. Cross, Sidney B. Fay, Carl R. Fish, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Frederic L. Paxson, James T. Shotwell, and St. George L. Sioussat. The Council elected Professor Guy S. Ford

a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, in the place of Professor J. H. Robinson, whose term had expired, and Professor Archibald C. Coolidge in the place of Professor Cheyney, who resigned after being elected a vice-president. For the Committee on Nominations to be presented next autumn, the Association chose Professors Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Eloise Ellery, Frank H. Hodder, and William E. Lingelbach; the committee has since chosen Professor Hodder as chairman. A full list of the committee assignments for 1921 follows this article.

In view of the small number of the ballots which had been received in the autumnal "primary", and by which the Committee on Nominations had been guided, the outgoing chairman of that committee, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, proposed for consideration next year an amendment of by-law no. II. which would abolish the provision for this formal balloting, and would leave it to the committee to nominate, with only such indications from other members as letters received from them, or their conversations, might supply. Meantime it was voted that the preliminary ballot should be omitted in 1921. It may, however, properly be pointed out that it would be possible to maintain the present machinery of balloting and nominating committee, yet to instruct the committee, or leave it to understand, that, while deriving whatever instruction it can from the results of the ballot, it is not bound to follow rigidly, without discretion, its numerical results.

J. F. J.

#### SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

##### RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1919 .....	\$ 5,184.72
Receipts to date:	
Annual dues .....	\$6,990.27
Life membership dues .....	150.00
Registration fees .....	107.87
Interest on investments .....	1,330.21
Interest on bank account .....	39.64
Voluntary contributions .....	1,652.60
Royalties .....	49.70
Sales of publications .....	111.33
Miscellaneous .....	51.50
	<u>10,483.12</u>
	\$15,667.84
Gifts, Andrew D. White Fund .....	1,000.00
	<u>\$16,667.84</u>

## EXPENDITURES

Office of secretary and treasurer .....	\$2,754.43	
Pacific Coast Branch .....	45.05	
Committee on Nominations .....	103.00	
Committee on Membership .....	71.35	
Committee on Programme .....	259.30	
Committee on Local Arrangements .....	50.00	
Conference of Historical Societies .....	23.15	
Committee on Publications .....	674.37	
American Historical Review .....	5,087.85	
Historical Manuscripts Commission .....	20.00	
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize .....	200.00	
Writings on American History .....	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies .....	122.85	
London Headquarters .....	31.45	
Committee on Policy .....	133.68	
American Council on Education .....	10.00	
	<u>\$9,786.48</u>	
Investments .....	1,850.20	11,636.68
Cash balance November 31, 1920 .....		\$ 5,031.16

## BUDGET FOR 1921

## APPROPRIATIONS

Office of secretary and treasurer .....	\$ 3,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch .....	50.00
Committee on Nominations .....	100.00
Committee on Membership .....	100.00
Committee on Programme .....	300.00
Committee on Local Arrangements .....	50.00
Conference of Historical Societies .....	25.00
Committee on Publications .....	700.00
Council Committee on Agenda .....	300.00
American Historical Review .....	7,000.00
Historical Manuscripts Commission .....	20.00
Winsor Prize .....	200.00
Writings on American History .....	200.00
American Council of Learned Societies .....	150.00
Committee on Bibliography .....	250.00
Committee on the Writing of History .....	75.00
	<u>\$12,520.00</u>

## ESTIMATED INCOME

Annual dues .....	\$ 7,000.00
Sale of publications .....	100.00
Royalties .....	50.00
Interest .....	1,400.00
Registration fees .....	150.00
Miscellaneous .....	50.00
	<u>\$ 8,750.00</u>

## AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

(referred, in accordance with the constitution, to the next annual meeting).

That in article III. there be substituted for "three dollars", "five dollars"; and for "fifty dollars", "one hundred dollars"; so that the article shall read:

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not residing in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

## AMENDMENT TO THE BY-LAWS

(referred to the next annual meeting).

That in by-law II. the word "nomination", line 1, be changed to "nominating", and the sentence beginning "At such", line 3, and ending "be chosen", line 7, be omitted; change "one day", line 14, to "two days"; so that by-law II. will read as follows:

A nominating committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the Association. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by twenty or more members of the Association at least two days before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the Association as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The references to lines are to the text of the by-law printed, as amended in 1917, in the *Annual Report* for that year, p. 58; see also p. 13, *ibid.* For the present year, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that the operation of the sentence in by-law II., beginning in the third line with the words 'At such convenient time' and ending in the seventh line with the words 'then to be chosen', namely, the operation of a preliminary referendum, be suspended during the year 1921."

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*President*, Jean Jules Jusserand, Washington.  
*First Vice-President*, Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge.  
*Second Vice-President*, Edward P. Cheyney, Philadelphia.  
*Secretary*, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
*Treasurer*, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington.<sup>12</sup>  
*Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.  
*Editor*, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington.  
*Executive Council* (in addition to the above-named officers):

James Ford Rhodes, <sup>13</sup>	Worthington C. Ford,
John B. McMaster,	William R. Thayer,
Simeon E. Baldwin,	Edward Channing, <sup>8</sup>
J. Franklin Jameson,	Arthur L. Cross,
George B. Adams,	Sidney B. Fay,
Albert Bushnell Hart,	Carl L. Fish,
Frederick J. Turner,	Carlton J. H. Hayes,
William M. Sloane,	Frederic L. Paxson,
William A. Dunning,	Ruth Putnam,
Andrew C. McLaughlin,	James T. Shotwell,
George L. Burr,	St. George L. Sioussat.

*Committees:*

*Committee on Programme for the Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting:*  
 Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois, chairman (appointed for one year), Charles Seymour (appointed for two years), Walter L. Fleming (appointed for three years), Thomas M. Marshall, Norman M. Trenholme; and (*ex officio*) M. A. Olsen and John C. Parish.

*Committee on Local Arrangements:*

*Committee on Nominations:* Frank H. Hodder, University of Kansas, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Eloise Ellery, William E. Lingelbach.

*Editors of the American Historical Review:* Carl Becker, Archibald C. Coolidge, Guy S. Ford, J. Franklin Jameson, Claude H. Van Tyne, Williston Walker.

*Historical Manuscripts Commission:* Justin H. Smith, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York, chairman; Annie H. Abel, Eugene C. Barker, Robert P. Brooks, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt.

*Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:* Clive Day, Yale University, chairman; Isaac J. Cox, Thomas F. Moran, Bernard C. Steiner, William W. Sweet.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Conyers Read, 209 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, chairman; Charles H. McIlwain, David S. Muzzey, Nellie Neilson, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Wilbur H. Siebert.

<sup>12</sup> For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

<sup>13</sup> The names from that of Mr. Rhodes to that of Mr. Channing are those of ex-presidents.



*Public Archives Commission:* Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hill Gardens, L. I., New York, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Ralph D. W. Connor, Waldo G. Leland, Arnold J. F. Van Laer.

*Committee on Bibliography* (including the Manual of Historical Literature): George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Augustus H. Shearer, Henry R. Shipman.

*Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, secretary; and (*ex officio*) John S. Bassett, J. Franklin Jameson, Rodney H. True, Justin H. Smith.

*Committee on Membership:* Thomas J. Wertenbaker, 111 Fitz-Randolph Road, Princeton, chairman; Louise Fargo Brown, Eugene H. Byrne, August C. Krey, Frank E. Melvin, Richard A. Newhall, Charles W. Ramsdell, Arthur P. Scott, John J. Van Nostrand, jr., James E. Winston, George F. Zook.

*Officers of the Pacific Coast Branch:* Robert C. Clark, University of Oregon, president; Payson J. Treat, Leland Stanford University, vice-president; John J. Van Nostrand, jr., secretary-treasurer; executive council: the above, and Wilberforce F. Bliss, Sara L. Dole, Waldemar C. Westergaard.

*Conference of Historical Societies:* George S. Godard, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, chairman; John C. Parish, State Historical Society, Iowa City, secretary.

*Committee on National Archives:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, chairman; Charles Moore, Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.

*Editors of the Historical Outlook:* Albert E. McKinley, 1621 Ransstead Street, Philadelphia, managing editor; Edgar Dawson, Sarah A. Dynes, Daniel C. Knowlton, Laurence M. Larson, William L. Westermann.

*Committee on Military History:* Eben L. Swift, 1823 Nineteenth Street, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Roy B. House, Eben Putnam, Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.

*Committee on Patriotic Societies:* Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University, chairman; Natalie S. Lincoln, Henry B. Mackoy, Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat, R. C. Ballard Thruston.

*Committee on Service:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; Elbert J. Benton, Clarence S. Brigham, Worthington C. Ford, Arthur C. Howland, Albert E. McKinley, James Sullivan.

*Committee on History Teaching in the Schools:* Henry Johnson, Teachers College, New York, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, Philip P. Chase, Guy S. Ford, Daniel C. Knowlton, Albert E. McKinley, Eugene M. Violette.

*Committee on Endowment:* Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington, chairman.

*Committee on obtaining Transcripts from Foreign Archives:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Waldo G. Leland.

*Special Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,

chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Note-stein, Conyer's Read.

*Special Committee on the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro:* Bernard Moses, honorary chairman; Percy A. Martin, Stanford University, California, acting chairman; Julius Klein, Harvard University, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Charles H. Cunningham, Constantine E. McGuire, Edwin V. Morgan, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, William L. Schurz.

*Special Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, chairman; Charles Moore.

*Special Committee to formulate Rules for the George L. Beer Prize:* William A. Dunning, Columbia University, chairman; Marshall S. Brown, Edward S. Corwin.

*Special Committee on the Writing of History:* Jean Jules Jusserand, 2416 Sixteenth Street, Washington, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Charles W. Colby.

## THE PEASANTS' CRUSADE

THE Peasants' Crusade of 1096 has been too generally regarded as a disorderly movement of misguided and unprepared rustics. The name suggests all this. In reality many of these "peasants" seem to have been prosperous middle-class freeholders and townsmen, foresighted enough to furnish themselves with the equipment and money necessary for a long journey to the East. People of such prudence desired an orderly march and asked only the privilege of paying their way. There was indeed a general wave of social unrest, and the sources vaguely indicate that numerous groups of people were wandering about aimlessly—for instance, the band which entrusted itself to the guidance of a goose and a goat. All this, however, was a natural consequence of the widespread crusading excitement, and was as much an accompaniment of the main crusade as of the lesser movement. Specifically, the Peasants' Crusade consisted of five large bands led by Peter the Hermit, Walter the Penniless, Fulk, Gottschalk, and Emicho. What manner of people did these armies contain? What were the reasons for their failure? If all facts not pertinent to these queries are omitted, the story of the Peasants' Crusade may be profitably retold.

The chroniclers, with one exception, were unsympathetic and too often brief when they wrote of this movement.<sup>1</sup> Not only were these bands of much less importance in numbers and personnel than the larger armies, but they failed to aid the main crusade. Hence they were generally denounced by conservative ecclesiastical writers

<sup>1</sup> Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, IV. Albert was not an eye-witness and the value of his work has been much discussed. In the first edition of his *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (Düsseldorf, 1841) H. von Sybel held Albert to be untrustworthy. Kugler later advanced the belief that Albert used the work of a Lorraine chronicler, who was an eye-witness, as well as crusading songs and oral sources. B. Kugler, *Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1885). F. Krebs, *Zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen* (Münster, 1881) concluded that the accounts of the bands of Walter and Peter came from people who were in their armies. Theodore Wolff in *Die Bauernkreuzzüge* (Tübingen, 1891) also reaches favorable conclusions concerning Albert's information about the Peasants' Crusade. For the purposes of this article it is sufficient to say that the indirect information, such as that about markets and provisions, which so frequently occurs in Albert, is not likely to have been manufactured, and can be accepted in general if not always for particular cases.

who deplored all futile popular disturbance: to them it was all the work of false prophets. Thus Ekkehard in his *Hierosolymita*, after condemning the Peasants' Crusade *in toto* as the product of folly, ignorance, and the devil, introduces his readers to the real theme of his book, namely the glorious deeds of the main armies, by calling these the wheat, while designating the unfortunate peasants as the chaff.<sup>2</sup> Guibert, in a frequently quoted passage, tells of poor people loading families and possessions into two-wheeled carts, and of the children asking at every town to which they came if it might be Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> This contemporary view has not been sufficiently discounted, but has continued to color impressions of the entire movement. In general it may be said that the events have been accurately determined, and the sources have been well edited and criticized. Nevertheless to so excellent a scholar as Röhrich, these people are "recht böse Gesellen", which sounds not very different from Guibert's phrase, "faex residua Francorum".<sup>4</sup>

It has been too readily assumed that a wide social gulf separated this crusade of "peasants" from that of the "knights". Although an offshoot, which prematurely separated itself from the larger organized movement between the council of Clermont and the date set for the departure of the main armies, this movement had the same causes, and originated in the same conditions, as the main crusade. Urban II. appealed to all classes, rich and poor.<sup>5</sup> Only with the support of all Christendom could such a novel and prodigious enterprise succeed. Thus new and wonderful opportunities opened to both common man and knight, and the main armies became volunteer organizations which contained far more footmen than horsemen. The pope did, however, state what was undesirable material, namely, old men, those unable to fight, women without husbands or legal guardians. He forbade clerics to go without the consent of their superiors, and directed laymen to obtain the bless-

<sup>2</sup> Ekkehard, *Hierosolymita*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), pp. 119-122, 130-133.

<sup>3</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 142.

<sup>4</sup> R. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 35. "Schaaren, welche meist nur aus Bauern und zusammengelaufenem Volk bestanden, ohne Zucht und Ordnung, ohne Reiterei und regelmässige Bewaffnung." Röhrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 2 vols., 1874, 1878), II. 26. See also Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 172; Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, p. 66, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> "Qua de re supplici prece hortor, non ego, sed Dominus, ut cunctis cuiuslibet ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus, edicto frequenti vos, Christi praecones, suadeatis." Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 134-135.

ings of their priests.<sup>6</sup> It may be noted that this in no wise excluded the stout peasant who possessed the arms of a fighting man.

The pope likewise emphasized the need for material preparation. The rich should aid the poor, and the soldiers of Christ were to delay departure until their worldly affairs were arranged, and they had collected whatever was necessary for the march.<sup>7</sup> Here was the first and fundamental qualification for the crusader. Everyone, who aspired to be such, whether noble or peasant, must obtain equipment and ready money, somewhere, somehow, by sale, by mortgage, or by Jew-baiting. Guibert's description of the conditions which preceded the departure of the crusaders shows marked economic disturbance. All who wished to go sold their property cheaply, while such articles as were needed for the journey could only be obtained at a high price.<sup>8</sup> This picture of frenzied preparation forms a necessary introduction to the Peasants' Crusade. The followers of Peter and Walter could not have been uninfluenced by the actions of those who were getting ready for the other armies. It is also significant that Urban II. desired all people, except such as would be "more of a burden than an aid" to the crusade.

The movement is closely associated with the work of Peter the Hermit, who was not only its inspiration as a crusading preacher, but also the recognized leader of all who reached Asia Minor. The first mention of Peter's activity finds him in Berry soon after the council of Clermont (November 18-28, 1095),<sup>9</sup> which he probably attended. It is even possible that he was definitely commissioned to preach by Urban II., who had so effectively awakened enthusiasm by his own oratory, and wished others to do the same.<sup>10</sup> By March, 1096, Peter had labored to such good purpose that he had collected

<sup>6</sup> "Tales enim magis sunt impedimento quam adjumento, plus oneri quam utilitati." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, *Recueil, Occ.*, III. 729; *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), no. 3, pp. 137-138; D. C. Munro, "Speech of Urban II. at Clermont", in *American Historical Review*, XI. (1906), 237-238.

<sup>7</sup> "Sed propriis locatis sumptibusque collectis," Fulcher (ed. Hagenmeyer), pp. 137-138.

<sup>8</sup> "Erat itaque ibi videre miraculum: caro omnes emere et vili vendere; caro quidem, quae ad usum deferrentur itineris, dum praeproperant; vili vero, dum sumptuum impendia coaggerant; et quae paulo ante nec carceres nec tormenta ab eis extorquere poterant, brevi nummorum numero cuncta constabant." Guibert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 141.

<sup>9</sup> Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 272; Hagenmeyer, *Peter*, p. 108; Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie de la Première Croisade", *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VI. (1898), no. 13. Hagenmeyer places this at the beginning of December, 1095.

<sup>10</sup> Robert d'Arbrissel was commissioned to preach the crusade. Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 19.

an army of 15,000 men.<sup>11</sup> Whether the pope approved of such recruiting or not, can only be conjectured. Except for the premature time of Peter's mobilization, which was much earlier than the official date of departure, August 15, 1096,<sup>12</sup> there could have been no objection if the recruits were fit for the crusade. The earliest references to this army indicate that it contained few knights.<sup>13</sup> However, whether it rode or walked, it was well-behaved. There is no evidence of any disorder or of participation in the Jewish persecutions of that time. On the contrary, Peter presented a letter to the Jews of Trier from those of France, which requested their brethren in any town to which he might come to furnish his army with provisions, for he was friendly toward Israel.<sup>14</sup> On April 12, Peter reached Cologne, where a week's preaching added many more to his army, including two counts and a bishop.<sup>15</sup> But the "proud Franks" were too impatient to wait for Peter to recruit Germans, and they departed under the leadership of Walter the Penniless.

Passing through Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria, this band arrived at the Hungarian boundary late in May.<sup>16</sup> The march seems to have been orderly, since Coloman, king of Hungary, did not hesitate to grant Walter free passage through his realm with the privilege of markets.<sup>17</sup> The conduct of the army continued to be satisfactory during the march through Hungary.<sup>18</sup> An incident, which might have been serious, occurred when the army crossed the river Save, which separated Hungary from Bulgaria. Sixteen stragglers were robbed in Semlin, but Walter refused to take up their quarrel, and continued his march.<sup>19</sup>

Bulgaria was nominally Byzantine territory, where markets were

<sup>11</sup> Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ed. Le Prévost), III. 478; Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", nos. 21, 22. The numbers given by these chroniclers are not to be trusted.

<sup>12</sup> Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 274. Albert says that Walter's army contained only eight *equites*. Ordericus, ed. Le Prévost, III. 474.

<sup>14</sup> Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 27. The Jews of Trier made "gifts" to Peter.

<sup>15</sup> Ordericus, ed. Le Prévost, III. 478; *Gesta Francorum, Anonymi*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), p. 120, mentions bishops in the army in Asia Minor.

<sup>16</sup> Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", nos. 21, 33.

<sup>17</sup> "Ubi audita et cognita illius animi intentione et causa assumptae viae, a domno Kalomanno, rege christianissimo Ungarorum, benigne susceptus est, et pacifice concessus est sibi transitus per universam terram regni sui, et emendi licentia." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 274.

<sup>18</sup> "Hic itaque, sine offensione et aliquo adverso incursu, usque ad Belegavam, civitatem Bulgarorum, profectus est." *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275.

a state monopoly. The people of this region, however, were far from being under effective control, and the imperial governor, Niketas, had not been warned of the coming of the crusaders.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, when Walter sought permission to buy provisions from "the prince of the Bulgarians and the magistrate of the city" of Belgrade it was refused.<sup>21</sup> Unable to obtain food otherwise, the crusaders resorted to foraging, which provoked retaliation. One party was surrounded in an oratory, which the Bulgarians burned, killing sixty of those within, and injuring others. Again Walter seems to have avoided trouble, for he hurried on with his army in confusion,<sup>22</sup> but although Albert's account of the departure is vague, there is no reason to think that the army was defeated in a general battle.

The march to Nish through the Bulgarian forests took eight days, but at this town the crusaders were well treated, and restitution for their losses was made by the imperial officials. Markets were granted for the rest of the journey, and after an uneventful passage, Walter reached Constantinople July 20.<sup>23</sup> Here the army continued to enjoy the privilege of buying whatever it needed, and settled itself to await the arrival of Peter. The first army to reach the East had conducted itself creditably. Walter had shown excellent qualities of leadership.

Evidence of adequate preparation may also be found in the account of Peter's march. Leaving Cologne on April 19, with an army "innumerable as the sands of the sea", which was further increased by a contingent headed by South German nobles,<sup>24</sup> Peter reached the Hungarian boundary after a peaceful march.<sup>25</sup> Passage through Hungary was granted on the conditions that there should be no plundering, and that whatever the army required

<sup>20</sup> Chalandon, *Règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène* (Paris, 1900), p. 167, note 4.

<sup>21</sup> "Qui fraudem [or fraudes] et exploratores terrae aestimantes, omnia venalia illis interdixerunt." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 275.

<sup>22</sup> "Post hanc calamitatem et attritionem suorum, Walterus, relictis circumquaque sociis, fugitivus [or fugitivis] silvas Bulgarorum, per dies octo, exsuperans", etc. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>23</sup> "Ubi duci et principi terrae reperto injuriam et dampnum sibi illatum referens, justitiam de omnibus clementer ab eo consecutus est; quin et arma et pecuniam illi in reconciliatione largitus est: ac ei conductum idem dominus terrae per civitates Bulgariae Sterniz et Phinepopolim atque Andronopolim pacifice dedit, et emendi licentiam", etc. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>24</sup> "Francigenae, Suevi, Bawarii, Lotharingi", *ibid.*, p. 276. Hagenmeyer, "Étude sur la Chronique de Zimmern", in *Arch. de l'Orient Lat.*, II. 68 ff.; Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, p. 144.

<sup>25</sup> Even Ekkehard says that the passage through Southern Germany was peaceful. Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 50-53.



should be purchased without contention and at a fair price.<sup>26</sup> These terms were observed until Semlin was reached.<sup>27</sup> When approaching this town, Peter heard a rumor to the effect that Guz, a prominent Hungarian noble,<sup>28</sup> had planned to attack his army in the rear, while Niketas obstructed its advance "so that the spoils of so great an army in horses, gold, silver, and clothing should be captured and divided". Peter refused to believe this "because the Hungarians and Bulgarians were Christians", but when the clothing and arms of the sixteen stragglers from Walter's army were seen hanging from the walls of Semlin, the crusaders took the town by assault and killed a great many of the inhabitants.<sup>29</sup>

Here Peter tarried five days, but on hearing that the King of Hungary was gathering an army behind him, he crossed the Morava, although hampered by a lack of boats, and obstructed by the Pincenates. Burdened with the spoils of Semlin, consisting of wagonloads of grain, cattle, and horses, the march was continued. Niketas did not remain at Belgrade but retired to the walled town of Nish, while the Bulgarians hid their flocks and herds in the forests. Arriving at Nish on the eighth day, messengers were sent to Niketas to ask permission to buy food. This was granted on condition that hostages be given as a pledge of good faith.<sup>30</sup> In the morning the hostages were returned and the army prepared to resume its march. But a hundred German stragglers, irritated because of some altercation in the market, set fire to some mills outside the city. This caused the Bulgarians to attack the departing crusaders. Peter, who was already some distance ahead, hastened back with the intention of making amends for the injury which the Germans had done, but before he could begin negotiations, a thousand of his men crossed the bridge to attack the gate of the town, and soon another thousand joined them.<sup>31</sup> Peter then tried to keep

<sup>26</sup> Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 276.

<sup>27</sup> "Et pacifice regnum Ungariae transivit, dans et accipiens omnia usui necessaria in numero, justitia et mensura; et sic sine turbine usque ad Malevillam [Semlin] cum omni legione sua profectus est." *Ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>28</sup> "Comes regionis illius, nomine Guz, unus de primatibus regis Ungariae." *Ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277; Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 42, says this was about June 22.

<sup>30</sup> "Omnium rerum sufficientia ad emendum undique illis concessa est; et non habentibus unde emerent, plurima largitio elemosynarum a civitate collata est." *Ibid.*, p. 278. This indicates that the army contained paupers, but it is significant that they should be mentioned.

<sup>31</sup> "Mille insensatorum hominum juvenus, nimiae levitatis et durae cervicis, gens indomita et effrenis, sine causa, sine ratione, trans praedictum pontem lapideum ad moenia et portam civitatis in gravi assultu vadunt." *Ibid.*, p. 280.

the rest of his men out of the fight, but the Bulgarians took advantage of this lack of harmony in the crusading army and drove the attacking party over the bridge or into the river, killing many of them. This treatment of their comrades aroused many of the crusaders, who thus far had remained spectators, to attempt to cross the river notwithstanding Peter's efforts to restrain them.

In the meantime a messenger reached Niketas, who agreed to negotiate. This was announced, and the fighting ceased. The footmen, however, apparently disgusted, loaded their wagons and, against Peter's wishes, again began to depart. The Bulgarians regarded this as an effort to retreat and again attacked the crusaders. The result was a general rout, in which a large number of prisoners were taken, including many women. Many wagons were lost, particularly the one which bore the treasure-chest of Peter.<sup>32</sup> Albert's account makes it evident that much of the trouble was due to Peter's inability to control his men, and it is likely that Niketas had more difficulty in restraining the wild peoples under his rule. Although denial of markets was not the cause of the trouble either at Semlin or at Nish, nevertheless, inasmuch as this was the only portion of the route where either army had trouble, it would seem that more blame must rest upon the Bulgarians than upon the crusaders.

Niketas sent messengers to Constantinople to report what had occurred, and Peter was met at Sternitz by imperial officials.<sup>33</sup> To avoid further disorder, Alexius directed that there should not be a delay of more than three days at any town, and he granted full market privileges.<sup>34</sup> At Philippopolis the Greeks made large gifts

<sup>32</sup> "Plaustrum quoque, super quod erat scrinium Petri, plenum innumerabilis auri et argenti, captum et retentum est, et ad Nizh una cum captivatis reductum, et in aerario ducis repositum." Albert, p. 281. "Neminem vendentem aut aliquid offerentem invenientes", after the loss of 2,000 wagons, indicates that the crusaders still had money. Albert says that when the army was reunited, after being scattered in the mountains and forests, only 30,000 were left out of 40,000. No reliance can be placed on such large figures.

<sup>33</sup> "Interea nuncii ducis ad domnum imperatorem Constantinopolis praecesserunt, qui sibi universa in malo de actibus et infortunio Petri retulerunt: qualiter Ungaros Malevillae occiderit; et quomodo ad civitatem Nizh veniens, pro benefactis mala civibus reddiderit, sed non tamen hoc impune presumpserit." *Ibid.*, p. 282. This indicates that the early arrival of these crusaders was entirely unexpected by Alexius.

<sup>34</sup> Albert has the messengers say: "Civitibus autem omnibus per quas transiturus es ex imperatoria jussione praecipimus ut pacifice tibi omnia tuisque vendant, et, quia Christianus es, Christianique tui consocii, non ultra iter tuum impendant; et quicquid in superbia et furore satellites tui adversus ducem Nichitam deliquerunt, tibi prorsus remittit." *Ibid.*, p. 282.

to Peter, because of his losses. A second imperial messenger met Peter at Adrianople, and requested him to hasten his march, "because the emperor was consumed with a desire to see this same Peter, on account of the reports which he had heard concerning him". Constantinople was reached on August 1, and the army encamped near the city, the usual market privileges being again conceded.<sup>35</sup> The march from Cologne had taken about three months and eleven days.<sup>36</sup>

Crusading enthusiasm continued to develop in Germany after the departure of Walter and Peter, although without the organized guidance of the papacy. Because of the struggle respecting investiture and the opposition of the anti-pope, Guibert, Urban II. made little effort to include Germany in the crusade. Probably only three German bishops were loyal to the pope at this time.<sup>37</sup> Because of this situation, the Peasants' Crusade represents a large part of Germany's participation in the First Crusade.<sup>38</sup> During the spring of 1096, the Jews of the Rhine towns suffered greatly from persecution by the crusading bands, which coalesced to form the other armies of the Peasants' Crusade. Very little is known of the army which was headed by Fulk.<sup>39</sup> It passed through northern Germany and apparently was responsible for the attacks on the Jewries of Magdeburg and Prague.<sup>40</sup> It ended what seems to have been a disorderly career at Nitra, where it was destroyed by the Hungarians.<sup>41</sup>

Gottschalk, however, seems to have been a more worthy follower of Peter, although Ekkehard calls him "not a true but a false

<sup>35</sup> "Quibus emendi licentia pleniter concessa est." *Ibid.*, p. 283. "Quibus imperator iusserat dari mercatum, sicuti erat in civitate." *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 112.

<sup>36</sup> Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 59.

<sup>37</sup> Thimo of Salzburg, Ulrich of Passau, and Gebhard of Constance. Hagenmeyer, "Étude sur la Chronique de Zimmern", *Arch. de l'Or. Lat.*, II. 65.

<sup>38</sup> The following passage explains the situation in Germany. "Orientalibus autem Francis, Saxonibus et Thuringis, Baiuvaris, et Alamannis haec bucina minime insonuit, propter illud maxime scisma, quod inter regnum et sacerdotium a tempore Alexandri papae usque hodie tam nos Romanis quam Romanos nobis invisos et infestos iam, heu! confirmavit. Inde est, quod omnis pene populus Theutonicus in principio profectionis huius causam ignorantes, per terram suam transeuntes tot legiones equitum, tot turmas peditum totque catervas rusticorum, feminarum ac parvulorum, quasi inaudita stulticia delirantes subsannabant, utpote qui pro certis incerta captantes, terram nativitatis vane relinquerent, terram repositionis incertam certo discrimine appetere, renunciarent facultatibus propriis, inhiarent alienis." Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 109-112.

<sup>39</sup> Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 92-93; Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 54, 122-124. Owing to Albert's silence, our knowledge of this army is slight.

<sup>40</sup> Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 39.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 49. End of June.

servant of God". With a considerable army, which we are told was well equipped and prepared, he passed through southern Germany peacefully.<sup>42</sup> Coloman readily granted passage through his realm and markets, but with an express understanding that there should be no plundering.<sup>43</sup> The terms of this agreement were soon broken by the crusaders. Disorder, which Albert ascribes to the Bavarians and Swabians, caused the Hungarian king to halt Gottschalk at Martinsberg. Finding the crusading army too strong to be attacked, he began to negotiate, and curiously enough the crusaders agreed to surrender all arms and treasure as a pledge of good conduct for the duration of their march through Hungary. Such an extreme concession is proof that Gottschalk and the leaders of his army were eager to satisfy the king's conditions.<sup>44</sup> The Hungarians, however, did not keep faith with the crusaders, but attacked them as soon as they had disarmed themselves. Few seem to have survived the massacre.<sup>45</sup>

The last army united under the leadership of Count Emicho of Leiningen.<sup>46</sup> William, viscount of Melun and of the Gâtinais, surnamed the Carpenter, joined Emicho at Mainz.<sup>47</sup> Other members of the French nobility mentioned are Thomas of La Fère, Clarebold of Vendeuil, and Drogo of Nesle.<sup>48</sup> While the various bands which united to form this army were gathering together,<sup>49</sup> many Jewish

<sup>42</sup> "Tam militaris quam pedestris vulgi, qui, pecunia ineffabili cum ceteris rebus necessariis collecta, iter suum pacifice usque in regnum Ungariae continuasse perhibentur." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 289-290.

<sup>43</sup> "Quibus etiam concessa est licentia emendi vitae necessaria; et pax utrinque indicta ex praecepto regis, ne qua seditio a tanto oriretur exercitu." *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>44</sup> "Acquieverunt universi huic consilio, ac loricas, galeas, omnia arma totamque pecuniam, stipendium viae suae scilicet in Iherusalem, in manus magistratus regis reddiderunt." *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>45</sup> Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 50; Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 96, 158-159.

<sup>46</sup> "Ubi [Mainz] comes Emicho, vir nobilis et in hac regione potentissimus," etc. Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 292. "Quidam vir militaris, comes tamen partium illarum quae circa Renum sunt, Emicho nomine," etc. Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 126.

<sup>47</sup> Duchalais, "Charte inédite relative à l'Histoire des Vicomtes de Melun", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, deuxième série, I. 254.

<sup>48</sup> Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 293, 299.

<sup>49</sup> "His itaque per turmas ex diversis regnis et civitatibus in unum collectis," etc. *Ibid.*, p. 291. Wolff (*Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 159-170), thinks that there were five bands: (1) a French band led by William, which probably attacked the Jews of Speyer; (2) a second French band, guilty of the persecutions at Metz and Trier; (3) a band of Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Flemings, which persecuted the Jews of Cologne; (4) Emicho's own band, responsible for the troubles at Mainz; (5) the band of Count Hartmann.

persecutions occurred, particularly at Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Cologne, and Trier.<sup>50</sup> Albert says that this army numbered 200,000, of which only 3,000 were horsemen, and that it contained Frenchmen, Flemings, Englishmen, and Lotharingians, who were well prepared.<sup>51</sup> Passing along the Danube into Hungary, it was further strengthened by a South German contingent headed by Count Hartmann of Dyllingen and Kyburg.<sup>52</sup> The Hungarians, however, had no intention of permitting such freebooters to enter their country, and the gates of Wieselburg were closed at the king's command. After unsuccessful negotiations for passage, the crusaders decided to force this strategic position and thus obtain entrance to the kingdom. This was not easy, as the town was located at the juncture of the Danube and Leitha rivers, and surrounded by swamps. Six weeks were spent in the construction of a bridge. Then a successful assault was made, and entrance was secured, but when the crusaders were already within the walls, panic seized them, and victory was turned into defeat. Caught with the river behind them, the members of the attacking party suffered disaster.<sup>53</sup> William of Melun, Drogo, Thomas, and Clarebold escaped and went to Italy, where they later joined Hugh the Great.<sup>54</sup> Hartmann later joined Godfrey.<sup>55</sup> The six weeks' siege of a fortified town indicates that Emicho's army, although disorderly and badly organized,<sup>56</sup> possessed some military capacity. Its failure shows the impossibility of any band's forcing a passage through Hungary. Preparation and good behavior were demanded by the Hungarian king.

To return to the crusaders in the East, Peter had an audience with the emperor soon after his arrival.<sup>57</sup> Alexius was eager to hear of the great upheaval that was taking place in the West. Peter, "short of stature but great in word and spirit", told his story,

<sup>50</sup> Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie" nos. 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40.

<sup>51</sup> "Cum omni suppellectili et substantia rerum et instrumentis armorum quibus Iherusalem proficiscentes indigebant." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 291. Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 127, says 12,000.

<sup>52</sup> Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 102, 165; Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 299; Hagenmeyer, in *Arch. de l'Or. Lat.*, II. 67-69.

<sup>53</sup> Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 64, places this disaster in the middle of August.

<sup>54</sup> Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 305.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 322, 427.

<sup>56</sup> "Et omnis illa intolerabilis societas virorum ac mulierum," etc. *Ibid.*, p. 293. Albert (p. 295) condemns the Jewish persecutions and the disorderly life of this army.

<sup>57</sup> Peter found Italian crusaders in Constantinople, "Lombardos et Longobardos et alios plures". *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 111-112.

and the emperor gave him two hundred gold byzants and a measure of small coins for his men. Five days after reaching Constantinople, the crusaders crossed to the Asiatic shore, where they established themselves at Hellenopolis or Civitot. The Greek merchants brought them provisions and necessities by boat, so that their wants were abundantly supplied as long as they had money enough to pay the traders. Inasmuch as a long period of waiting must elapse before the main armies would arrive, it was necessary for Alexius to find suitable quarters for them.<sup>58</sup> Hellenopolis seems to have been quite satisfactory,<sup>59</sup> so long as the crusaders kept out of Turkish territory, which the emperor warned them to do. For two months they lived at this camp in perfect security.<sup>60</sup>

Without giving a complete account of the events in Asia Minor, certain significant features may be noted, for they place the final disaster in a different light. At the end of two months, plundering began against Peter's will.<sup>61</sup> A band of some 7,000 Frenchmen made a successful cattle-stealing raid in the direction of Nicaea. Next 3,000 Germans captured a castle only a few miles from this place, which they occupied as a base for further operations.<sup>62</sup> The Turks beleaguered the occupants of this castle, and forced them

<sup>58</sup> The anonymous writer of the *Gesta* says that the crusaders were warned not to cross the Straits. "Nolite transmeare Brachium, donec veniat maxima Christianorum virtus, quoniam vos tanti non estis, ut cum Turcis proeliari valeatis." Ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 112-113. He goes on to say that because they burned houses in the suburbs, and stole lead from the churches to sell to the Greeks, the emperor became angry and ordered them to cross to Asia Minor. Albert indicates that the crossing was agreed upon because of its advantages to the crusaders. His account of the warning is different. After the camp was established at Hellenopolis imperial messengers went to the crusaders and warned them not to venture into Turkish territory. "Assunt nuncii Christianissimi imperatoris, qui Petro omnique exercitui ejus interdixerunt iter versus montana Nicaeae urbis, propter insidias et incursus Turcorum, donec amplior numerus affuturorum Christianorum illis accresceret." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV, 284. It must be remembered that the author of the *Gesta* did not reach Constantinople till some time after the destruction of Peter's army. Albert's account sounds very much like that of a participant.

<sup>59</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Peter*, pp. 179-186; *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 123, note 65. According to Ordericus (ed. Le Prévost, III. 490-491), Alexius had previously intended to establish his Varangian guard at Hellenopolis.

<sup>60</sup> "Et curriculo duorum mensium illic in pace et laetitia epulati, moram fecerunt, secure ab omni impetu hostili dormientes." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 284.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284. The *Gesta* (ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 114), without any reference to the two-month period, implies that the crusaders continued to burn houses and plunder after crossing the straits.

<sup>62</sup> Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 284-285; *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 115-118.

to submit after eight days. The news of this produced tremendous excitement in the crusading camp. The footmen demanded that the knights lead them to battle forthwith, and when they refused because Peter was absent, Godfrey Burel (*magister peditum*) taunted them with cowardice until they yielded to the popular clamor. The whole army then marched forth against the Turks in six divisions headed by a vanguard of 500 horsemen. As they were emerging into an open place in the forest, the horsemen were attacked before the footmen could come to their assistance. Their horses were shot down by the Turkish archers, and they were compelled to fight on foot against overwhelming numbers. Walter with many other knights, including a number of German nobles, fell in this battle by the Draco river.<sup>63</sup> The footmen were routed and slaughtered by the Turks as they fled toward camp.<sup>64</sup> Later 3,000 fugitives took refuge in a ruined fortress where they defended themselves until rescued by the imperial troops.<sup>65</sup>

Although he was blamed by later writers, Alexius can not be held responsible for this disaster. It has been assumed that he was disgusted with the poor quality of the material in Peter's army, and that he hurried the crusaders over to the Asiatic side merely to get rid of them. The camp at Hellenopolis, however, seems to have been safe enough until the crusaders themselves provoked the fatal attack by disregarding the emperor's warning. Albert says that they began foraging while plentifully supplied with food.<sup>66</sup> No doubt the monotony of camp life may have been a cause of trouble, and without doubt the Greek traders continued to bring food. The significant point to note, however, is that Peter was in Constantinople at the time of the battle seeking to obtain some form of relief for his people.<sup>67</sup> The real cause of trouble was that the crusaders,

<sup>63</sup> Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 288. For the list of Germans, see Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, p. 187.

<sup>64</sup> Albert's figures, which are not at all to be trusted, make the proportion of footmen to horsemen about fifty to one. It must be remembered that this battle was the first experience of the crusaders with Turkish methods of fighting. In this connection see Fulcher of Chartres on the battle of Dorylaeum, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 194, 195. The crusading armies of 1101 were just as unfortunate as Peter's followers.

<sup>65</sup> Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 289; *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 127-130.

<sup>66</sup> "Post duos itaque menses, lascivi et effrenes facti prae otio et inaeestimabili copia ciborum, vocem Petri non audierunt," etc. Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 284.

<sup>67</sup> "Ante hos enim dies Petrus Constantinopolim ad Imperatorem migraverat, pro exercitu suo rogaturus ut illis venditionem necessariorum alleviaret." *Ibid.*, p. 286.



at least a considerable number of them, had exhausted their resources. Disorder, lack of discipline, the efforts to secure food by plundering, were all caused by a lack of money. The story of the bands which had perished in Hungary was repeated in Asia Minor. The relative success of the different bands was determined by the amount of money possessed by the individual crusaders of whom they were composed. The bands of Walter and Peter had supported themselves by paying for their food for five and one-third months, a creditable achievement, while the others were reduced to plundering when they reached Hungary. The fundamental reason for the failure of the first two bands was their premature arrival in the East.

If this account offers an accurate interpretation of the movement, it would seem that it must have originated in favorable economic conditions rather than in famine and distress. Hagenmeyer, however, endorses Ekkehard's statement that the French were easily persuaded to leave their homes, since France for several years previous to 1096 had been afflicted by civil sedition, famine, pestilence, and plagues.<sup>68</sup> Wolff concludes that the movement had a background of "religious enthusiasm and bitter want", and as evidence lists all the famines mentioned for the years preceding the crusade.<sup>69</sup> What year of the Middle Ages did not have at least a local famine? The scanty records do not permit of conclusive statistical results, but there is much evidence to indicate that the last years of the eleventh century were marked by considerable economic progress. The growth of commerce and industry, the rise of towns, and the colonization of new agricultural lands are marks of prosperity more significant than the fact that famines and plagues had not yet ceased to occur. The entire crusading movement may be regarded as one of the first great results of the new forces which culminated in the many-sided awakening of the twelfth century.

That the crusading movement was not preceded by a period of exceptional distress is made more certain by the knowledge that the followers of Walter and Peter, and even the bands which perished in Hungary, were not the product of hard times. The reference to Peter's treasure-chest, Albert's frequent and persistent allusions to market privileges, the reparation for losses, and the coincidence that trouble occurred only when provisions could not be obtained by

<sup>68</sup> Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 105-106; Hagenmeyer, *Peter*, p. 111, "Das Nothjahr 1095".

<sup>69</sup> Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 175, 108-119.

peaceful means, all imply that preparation for the crusade involved the possession of ready money, or its acquisition by mortgage or sale of property.<sup>70</sup> The *via sancta* was not for the pauper.<sup>71</sup>

FREDERIC DUNCALF.

<sup>70</sup> Many freeholders in South Germany lost their economic freedom by going on the crusade. The "Zimmern Chronicle" tells how Frederick of Zimmern struggled to equip himself by oppressing his serfs. *Arch. de l'Or. Lat.*, II. 24, 33-34.

<sup>71</sup> "Nimium tamen simpliciter innumerabilis multitudo popularium illud iter arripuerunt, qui nullomodo se ad tale periculum praeparare noverunt vel potuerunt. Unde et eorum non parva pars in Ungaria occubuit, quae terram Ungarorum satis imprudenter devastare praesumpsit." Bernold, *Chronicon, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, V. 464.

## THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR THROUGH THE EYES OF A RUSSIAN DIPLOMAT<sup>1</sup>

It is unfortunately true that the average European diplomat does not fully understand the American people and their institutions and consequently misrepresents them in the reports to his government. The extent and seriousness of the misrepresentations depend largely on the differences between the political and social institutions of the country that sends the diplomat and the country to which he is sent. In the middle of the nineteenth century no other two civilized countries were more unlike than Russia and the United States and there were many misstatements made about each other by their representatives. This was not done with any evil intent. It was but natural that a man trained in the philosophy of Nicholas I. should judge American society by a different standard than one who had been brought up on the ideals of Lincoln. The Russian and the American had different backgrounds, different prejudices, different angles of vision, and therefore the objects they sighted seemed different to them. Neither was wholly wrong or wholly right, and the views of each had much in them that was of value to the other. It so happened that Russia had during the Civil War a very able representative in the person of Édouard de Stoeckl, Stoeckl spent about twenty years in Washington in various diplomatic capacities and during that time he married an American wife, formed a large circle of friends among the prominent men of the capital, and learned to admire the American people.<sup>2</sup> His opinions

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on the correspondence of Stoeckl with the Russian foreign office, examined by the writer when preparing for the Carnegie Institution of Washington a report supplementary to that section of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Russian Archives* (Washington, 1917) which related to the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs. When making notes for that section in 1914 he was allowed to carry his search down to 1854 only; in 1917 he was permitted to go on to 1870. All the letters here cited are dated from Washington.

<sup>2</sup> When Édouard de Stoeckl first came to the United States is not quite clear, but the records show that he was a member of the Russian legation in Washington in 1849-1850. In the winter of 1853 he left Petrograd to go as consul-general to the Hawaiian Islands. When he landed in New York he learned that the Russian minister, Alexander Bodisco, was dead, and that he was expected to take charge of the legation until another man was sent. The outbreak of the Crimean war obliged him to remain at this post and he did such good work that his gov-

are not the results of first impressions but of years of observation in a favorable environment.

From 1854 to 1870 Stoeckl wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Gorchakov, frequently and at some length as he was encouraged to do. Both the emperor and his foreign minister were deeply concerned in what was going on in the United States. Our slavery problem had much in common with their serf question, and our position as a rival to Great Britain had much interest for them at that time.

In 1854 and 1855 Stoeckl was too much occupied in diplomatic matters relating to the Crimean War to give much attention to the domestic affairs of the United States, but beginning with 1856 there was hardly a letter in which he did not make some mention of the difficulties between the North and the South. More than once he raised the question of a possible secession of the Southern States, but almost up to the very outbreak of the conflict he seemed confident that this misfortune would never take place. He gave many reasons for his belief. Secession, he said, is unthinkable because of the economic bonds that bind the North and South. The industrial classes, the farmers of the North and the agricultural classes of the South, who constitute the sane elements of the American population, are dependent on one another and they would never permit the disruption of the Union.<sup>3</sup> The Americans as a people, both North and South, are too practical, they are too much absorbed in their material interests, they are too sensible, to break the federal bond—the source of their strength and prosperity—for it is federation and not democracy that is behind their prosperity. Even if the North and the South were foolish enough to desire to separate, the West would never allow it.<sup>4</sup> The West is daily growing stronger and its large delegation in Congress realizes that the progress of the

ernment appointed him to the vacancy (1857). On January 2 (N.S.), 1856, he married Elizabeth Howard, "American, Protestant, without property", so he reported to the emperor. In 1865 the Russian government increased his pay in appreciation of his excellent work in the United States. In 1866 he was given leave of absence to return to Petrograd and while there the question of the sale of Alaska was taken up and he was instructed to return to his post and open negotiations. When that matter was concluded he asked (July 15/27, 1868) for a long leave on account of his failing health. In the letter he said that he was sixty years of age and that his eyes were so weak that he could not work at night. The leave was granted in September of that year and he left in October. A little after his arrival in Russia he was retired on a pension. The exact date of his death is not recorded in the archives.

<sup>3</sup> Aug. 15/27, 1856, no. 1681.

<sup>4</sup> Oct. 27/Nov. 8, 1856, no. 2217.

West depends on the products of the North and the South and the facilities for transportation to markets offered to it by these two sections. The development of the West is the best guarantee of the permanence of the federation. In his reports for the six months preceding the war, when secession talk was so loud in the capital, Stoeckl expressed a fear that the election of Lincoln and party passions might cause the people to lose their heads and lead them to disrupt the Union; but even then he put that thought aside and argued that this would never happen because the conservative element in the American population, its good sense, its material interests, or some other, as yet unknown, factor would save the situation. He deplored, however, the endless straining and tugging that gradually weakened the bond of union.<sup>5</sup>

The outbreak of war filled Stoeckl with sorrow. In his letter to Gorchakov, written April 15/27, 1861, he said how much it grieved him to see the North and the South hate one another without rhyme or reason when Nature intended them to live together in love and in prosperity. It would seem, he said, as if humanity thirsted for blood and that there were times in the life of each nation when there must be a certain amount of bloodletting.

He next tried to understand and to explain the war. The American conflict suggested to him the nationality struggle in Europe. In the United States, he wrote, each state is "*une communauté à part . . . avec ses lois particulières et souvent avec ses mœurs et ses habitudes différentes*". These American states are kept together by a political tie and if that were cut the whole structure would fall into many pieces and civil war between these pieces would be sure to ensue. The only important difference between the nationality problem in America and in Europe is that in the first case it is complicated by the negro element.

But the negroes are not the cause of the war. It is true, he said, that slavery is opposed to the teachings of religion and the conscience of humanity, but the political and economic safety of the state is paramount to any such considerations. If slavery were really the issue it could be satisfactorily settled without a war. Neither the abolition of slavery nor the preservation of the Union has brought on this conflict, for the men who are responsible for it are as indifferent to the one as to the other. It is these demagogues who are the indirect cause of the trouble. It is they who stir up sectional jealousies and party hatreds, who are ready to sacrifice the welfare of the nation and of the state in order to promote their

<sup>5</sup> Dec. 23, 1860/Jan. 4, 1861, no. 146.

selfish interests. They do not desire peace; they could not live in its atmosphere. Slavery is a pretext, a godsend to them, particularly to the Puritan preachers and Southern politicians.

But behind the agitator is the system of government that has brought him forth.<sup>6</sup> That is the enemy, and the cause of the war. The republican form of government, so much talked about by the Europeans and so much praised by the Americans, is breaking down. It has worked well enough until now, when honest and conservative men held office and when the dams which the framers of the Constitution erected against irresponsible democracy held firm; but these barriers are weakening, owing to the rising streams of radicalism and universal suffrage at home, to the recent influx of socialists and anarchists from Europe, and to the coming of such men as Bakunin and Garibaldi. If America does not watch, the waters of radicalism will soon rise so high that they will overflow the dam, sweep away its stabilizing institutions, and leave it a prey to anarchy. What can be expected from a country where men of humble origin are elevated to the highest positions, where honest men refuse to vote and dishonest ones cast their ballots at the bidding of shameless politicians? This is democracy in practice, the democracy that the European theorists rave about.<sup>7</sup> If they could only see it at work they would cease their agitation and thank God for the government which they are enjoying.<sup>8</sup>

It is quite evident that Stoeckl had little respect for the leaders of American democracy. To him the members of Congress were a noisy, fanatic, intriguing, and dishonest lot. The men higher up in the government were mediocre, inefficient, and ignorant of the fundamental principles of real statesmanship. His comments on Lincoln and Seward are interesting.

The Russian diplomat had a high regard for Lincoln, the man, and spoke of his honest face, courteous behavior,<sup>9</sup> kindly disposition, and fine character. But for Lincoln, the President of the United States, he had little to say that was complimentary. He thought him weak, undecided, inexperienced, and the tool of unscrupulous

<sup>6</sup> Nov. 29/Dec. 11, 1864, no. 1900.

<sup>7</sup> Nov. 22/Dec. 4, 1863.

<sup>8</sup> On the margin of Stoeckl's letter Gorchakov made this comment: "Je l'aurais voulu mais j'en doute."

<sup>9</sup> Feb. 28/Mar. 12, 1861. "Sans posséder une figure remarquable, M. Lincoln a une physionomie agréable et honnête. Ses manières sont celles d'un homme qui a passé toute sa vie dans une petite ville de l'Ouest, mais il a été poli et prévenant envers tous [meaning, on the occasion of the first diplomatic reception] et en général le corps diplomatique n'a eu qu'à se louer de l'accueil."

intriguers and office-seekers who selected him for the high office because of his very defects, so that they might use him.<sup>10</sup> Though at times he handled them rather skillfully, yet on the whole he was no match for them. They turned the White House into a political club and worried the life out of the President with their recommendations, until the poor man complained (to Stoeckl) that he suffered more from his friends than from his enemies. Frightened by the clamor of the radicals and the demands of the conservatives, the captain retired to his cabin and left the ship of state to the mercy of the winds and the waves.<sup>11</sup> There was nothing to indicate that Lincoln had either a far-sighted policy or an immediate plan. The great trouble with him was that the task was too great for him. These criticisms of Lincoln were made in a very friendly spirit, for, as stated already, Stoeckel had much good-will towards the President and his death at the hands of the assassin affected him deeply.<sup>12</sup>

Senator Seward made a deep impression on Stoeckl, who spoke of him as the ablest American statesman, as the man above all others who should be President of the United States; but Secretary of State Seward proved to be a disappointment and the Russian diplomat was forced to put him into the class of small politicians and leave him there. Stoeckl was disgusted with Seward's irresoluteness, his lack of strong convictions, his ignorance of international affairs, his arrogance, his posing as a great man. This sudden change in his estimation of Seward came almost immediately after the latter had become Secretary of State. Very soon after the inauguration Stoeckl gave a dinner to the members of the cabinet, and when it was over and all the other guests had departed, Seward remained to talk over matters of state. He assured Stoeckl that the North would not force the seceded states to come back into the Union but would leave them undisturbed until such time as they themselves should express a desire to come back. He went even further, and asked that a secret interview be arranged at the Russian embassy between himself and a Southern commissioner, who was at the time in the capital, to talk over a conciliatory policy. But when Stoeckl encountered Seward two or three days later at the residence of Lord Lyons, the Secretary of State had changed his mind completely and announced that if war should break out all commercial relations with the South would come to an end.

<sup>10</sup> Jan. 1/13, 1864.

<sup>11</sup> Nov. 6/18, 1861.

<sup>12</sup> Apr. 3/15, 1865.



Stoeckl tells another story illustrating the fickleness of Seward. About the middle of December, 1862, the Secretary of State informed the ministers of France and Russia that he was through with the administration, through with Stanton, through with the radical gang in Congress, through with Washington, that he had resigned and was going home in a few days. On the strength of these positive statements Stoeckl called on Seward to express his regrets and to bid him good-bye. Imagine his astonishment when Seward assured him that it was all a mistake, that he and Stanton had made up, and that from now on they would be good friends and work together. These and similar incidents caused Stoeckl to lose confidence and respect for Seward and to pay little attention to what he said.

Like many others, Stoeckl made guesses as to the duration of the war. In June, 1861, he thought it would be over by winter; in August he predicted that it would continue to the end of the year or possibly until spring. By that time he felt that the North would be exhausted and would quit. When spring came around he contented himself with such general remarks as, "the end of the conflict is not yet in sight", and "the conquest of the South is still an open question", and this tune of uncertainty he sang until the very end.

He also attempted to look into the future to see what would eventually be the outcome of the conflict and what would become of the once powerful United States. On one thing he was quite certain: no matter what the outcome might be, the old Union was gone, the breach between the North and the South was irreparable. When he had the opportunity, he advised those near him that the thing for the North to do was to make a virtue of necessity and to accept the inevitable. To his mind the best solution was the political independence and the commercial union of the two sections, a kind of zollverein, and if this were brought about the chances were, so he believed, that in time the broken parts would knit together.<sup>13</sup>

Though he lost confidence in American institutions and in American statesmen, Stoeckl nevertheless retained his admiration for the American people. He was never quite sure of them. At times he wondered whether he really understood them, and occasionally he referred to them as an exceptional people. More than once he told his government that similarity of conditions in the Old and in the New World does not necessarily produce similarity of results. In the United States, for example, revolution, war, disorganized government, and even disorganized finance do not greatly affect the

<sup>13</sup> Jan. 29/Feb. 10, 1863, no. 342.

prosperity of the country. In the United States the very poor are well off. Nothing is impossible for this extraordinary people, nothing is difficult for them. When the war opened they responded in a wonderful manner to Lincoln's call and when reverses came they faced them manfully. When one army was destroyed they raised another, when one appropriation was spent they voted another, never doubting the ultimate success of the struggle. One of the characteristics of this nation is its confidence in itself, in its destiny, in its belief that "the best government that God ever saw" will last forever.<sup>14</sup> With that vision before them the Americans plunge right on, regardless of obstacles and dangers.<sup>15</sup> The black clouds that now hang over the country do not excite any apprehension, for they see the sun through them. If one expresses a misgiving he is told not to worry needlessly, that America has always succeeded in whatever it has undertaken; and, strange to say, it has. In his letter of January 12/24, 1865, Stoeckl wrote to his government that the war would go on for some time to come and even if the South were put down the problems of governing a conquered people would be great and difficult. Notwithstanding this, the Americans are so full of conceit and illusions that they really believe that after this bloody war the Southerners will submit tamely and become peaceful and law-abiding citizens. Can one imagine anything more absurd? Yet that is exactly what they say and believe.<sup>16</sup>

The end of the war caught Stoeckl quite unprepared and caused him to exclaim that one can never tell what may happen "*chez ce peuple exceptionnel*". Only a few months back, he said, the statesmen were despondent, the debt was going up, and the credit going down; then, all of a sudden and without any good reason, financial confidence was restored, thousands flocked to fill the gaps in the army, and behold, the fight was won. He insisted, however, that credit for putting down the insurrection was due to the American people, to its sacrifices, to its material resources, and not to the men in power.

<sup>14</sup> Jan. 12/24, 1865.

<sup>15</sup> Nov. 16/28, 1859.

<sup>16</sup> That Gorchakov did not encourage Stoeckl in his pessimistic vein may be seen from the following passage in a letter written by the former to the latter in February, 1862: "*La confiance que manifeste le Nord dans l'issue finale de la crise n'a-t-elle pas des fondemens plus sérieux que la jactance particulière aux démocraties?*" Here is another letter written a month earlier and approved by the emperor: "*L'Empereur est persuadé que les hommes d'État qui ont su apprécier d'un point de vue si élevé les intérêts politiques extérieurs [Mason-Slidell affair] de leur pays, sauront également placer leur politique intérieure au dessus des passions populaires.*"

He realized, of course, that there were many serious problems ahead, but he expressed confidence that the American people would solve them, too, now that they had survived the convulsions of war and had come out of them stronger than ever.<sup>17</sup> To be sure, they lacked strong leadership but they could do without it. When Lincoln died some people thought that the world was coming to an end, but here was Johnson carrying on the affairs of state in a very able manner.<sup>18</sup> To Stoeckl the biggest problem before the nation was to get the Southerners to come back into the Union, and on the possibility of bringing this about he expressed some doubt. When, however, that question was also satisfactorily settled and he saw how eager both sides were to forgive and forget, Stoeckl shrugged his shoulders and remarked that all predictions fail when one has to do with a people that Providence has taken under her special protection.<sup>19</sup>

Stoeckl was honest enough to face once more the question of American democracy, the democracy that was tottering and the fall of which was looked for in Europe. Has it stood the test? Yes, it has, he answered. It has weathered the storms of war and has suffered no serious injuries. However, it still had another test before it, the test of reconstruction. Can it stand up under the turmoils of, what he called, the political revolution that was at hand?<sup>20</sup> He thought it might if the suffrage were limited, if the demagogues were kept in place, and if honest and conservative men

<sup>17</sup> Apr. 2/14, 1865, no. 715.

<sup>18</sup> Oct. 15/27, 1865. "Ce qui se passe ici est si extraordinaire, les événemens se succèdent avec une telle rapidité qu'on peut à peine suivre et piger [or juger?] ce qui existe aujourd'hui, mais jamais faire des conjectures sur le lendemain. Il semble qu'une Providence veille sur les destinées de ce peuple et se trouve exprès là pour aplanir les obstacles et les dangers qu'il rencontre dans sa marche rapide. En effet, la guerre finit subitement et au moment où l'on s'y attendait le moins. La lutte une fois terminée par la chute de Richmond, le centre de la Confédération, les hommes du Sud déposent partout les armes et se soumettent, par calcul et avec des arrière-pensées, si l'on veut, mais ils se soumettent, et, guidés par leurs intérêts, ils acceptent l'alliance avec le Nord dont l'industrie et les capitaux leur sont nécessaires pour faire disparaître les ravages de la dernière guerre. Enfin, la mort de Mr. Lincoln donne des inquiétudes sérieuses au pays, on n'a aucune confiance dans son successeur de hasard; il se trouva cependant que Mr. Johnson est l'homme des circonstances et déploie, dans l'oeuvre difficile de la reconstruction, des talents et une fermeté de caractère bien supérieurs à ceux de Mr. Lincoln. En un mot, après une lutte si longue et si acharnée les États Unis rentrent dans l'ordre et reprennent leur équilibre avec une rapidité qui déjoue les calculs [les] mieux fondés."

<sup>19</sup> Aug. 3/15, 1867.

<sup>20</sup> Sept. 5/17, 1866, no. 1852.

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were induced to hold office. In one of his letters he expressed what seemed to be a sincere wish, that the American people would demonstrate to the world that democracy could be kept from developing into radicalism and anarchy, a political phenomenon rare in the annals of republics. During the year 1867 he watched the stormy skies, often wondering whether the ship would weather the wind and the waves that were threatening to engulf it. In February, 1868, he caught a ray of sunshine through the clouds and announced to his government the glad news that the American people would not succumb to the political revolution any more than they had to the Civil War.<sup>21</sup> At the same time he advised that they should reform their political institutions.

The above observations by the Russian diplomat suggest many thoughts for discussion, but only two or three of them may be taken up here. In view of the insistence of certain writers that Lincoln was ugly, ungainly, and boorish, the personal description of him by Stoeckl is instructive. The Russian knew good society and fine manners, and when he says that Abraham Lincoln has a "*physionomie agréable et honnête*" and that he was polite and thoughtful of others, his opinion should carry weight.

Though Lincoln and Stoeckl met more or less often, yet the former failed to make any other impression on the latter than that of a well-meaning, thoroughly honest, but weak man. Almost everything that Stoeckl said about Lincoln in the five years' correspondence with his government is given in this paper. There were months at a stretch when the President was not even mentioned and so far as the Russian was concerned did not exist.

One has little complaint to make of the likeness of Uncle Sam as drawn by Stoeckl. Here and there physical and temperamental peculiarities are over-emphasized but on the whole the portrait is a fairly good one; the form, the features, and the outward expression are all delineated. It is not, however, an artistic piece of work because it fails to bring out the inner soul of the subject. From the beginning of the conflict to the end Stoeckl missed the spirit of idealism that animated the American people. There is nowhere in his writings a sentence or a line to indicate that he was conscious of its existence. When he thought we would not fight, it was because of our good sense and economic interests; when we did fight it was because of the demagogues; when we won the war it was because of our resources and determination; and when we reconstructed the Union it was because of a special providence. To him,

<sup>21</sup> Feb. 16/28, 1866, no. 9.

as to thousands of Europeans before and after him, the Americans were little better than efficient, thinking economic machines.

It is difficult to explain how a man of Stoeckl's diplomatic ability and intellectual force, with such unusual opportunities for the study of society, could live through that stirring period in American history without catching some of its deeper meanings. It may have been due to his Russian background, or to his training to regard the safety of institutions as of more importance than the welfare of the individual, or to the peculiar ambassadorial atmosphere in which he lived. Whatever the reasons were, the fact remains that he failed to understand the spiritual side of the people among whom he lived. This raises the question of the value of diplomatic papers for the study of social history and the value of the diplomat as an agent for international conciliation. Without generalizing too much one may say, at least in so far as America is concerned, that they are of doubtful value. The average diplomat of continental Europe reaches America with certain preconceived ideas of our national characteristics and he is pleased with himself if he discovers evidence to prove that he is right. While at the capital he lives in his own little circle, which amuses itself in pointing out our shortcomings, he associates with the artificial society of Washington and Newport, and seldom comes into close touch with the heart and soul of the people. Yet it is these diplomats who are regarded as the authority on the countries in which they live; it is they who educate foreign public opinion; and it is they who influence the makers of war and peace. They are in part responsible for the idea that has gone abroad that the Americans are chiefly interested in money-getting; and this idea has taken such hold that it is doubtful whether even this World War has done much to dispel it. In the face of all the sacrifices made and the blood shed, a large part of the world is still unconvinced that America entered the war not for the purpose of gain but in pursuit of an ideal.

FRANK A. GOLDER.

## TROOP MOVEMENTS ON THE AMERICAN RAILROADS DURING THE GREAT WAR

THE Spanish-American War demonstrated the necessity for reform in the War Department's methods of dealing with the important problem of military transportation. During that emergency there seems to have been very little real co-operation between the railroads of the country and the government. It was not until July 18, 1898, more than three months after war was declared, that the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster's Department was created and charged with the supervision and control of all rail and water transportation.<sup>1</sup>

A few years after the Spanish-American War, the Quartermaster General's Office and the transportation companies began to co-ordinate their efforts and to work together more cordially and more effectively than in 1898. In 1905, and again in 1912, arrangements were made regarding the handling of troops and supplies. Throughout 1914 and 1915 it seemed probable that the United States would find it necessary to intervene in Mexico, and during the latter year, in order to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of the conditions of 1898, the officer in charge of the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster General's Office appeared before several transportation associations and outlined the plan of mutual co-operation which was practically the one later put into effect. On October 26, 1915, upon the recommendation of the Quartermaster General's Office, the Secretary of War suggested that the American Railway Association establish a "committee on military transportation to whom the department could look for any information that might be desired as to the railroads of the United States and with a further view to co-ordination between the railroads and the War Department in the transportation of troops and supplies of the United States."<sup>2</sup> Shortly afterwards a "Special Committee on Co-operation with the Military Authorities" was appointed by the American Railway Association, and Fairfax Harrison, president of the Southern Railway, was named chairman of the committee. During the winter of 1915-1916 the committee was in frequent session with the officers

<sup>1</sup> *General Orders*, no. 122, War Dept., Aug. 18, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Quartermaster General*, 1916.

of the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster General's Office and a general plan of co-operation was agreed upon.<sup>3</sup>

The trouble with Mexico became more and more acute and on June 18, 1916, the Secretary of War, through the governors of the various states, called into the federal service the greater part of the organized militia and of the National Guard.<sup>4</sup> The special committee of the American Railway Association met at once in the office of the Quartermaster General, in Washington, with Lieutenant-Colonel Chauncey B. Baker, who represented the Quartermaster General, and the plans formulated during the previous winter were immediately placed in effect. Competent railway officials were placed at the headquarters of the four territorial departments of the army, at each mobilization camp of the National Guard, and in the office of the Quartermaster General in Washington. These officials, or general agents, as they came to be called, acted as advisers to the officers of the Quartermaster Corps on all questions affecting the railroads. Upon notification that an organization was about to leave camp for the border, the camp quartermaster consulted with the general agent at the camp, telling him the strength of the organization, the approximate date of departure, the number and kind of cars required, etc. The general agent then set about assembling all railroad equipment other than tourist sleeping-cars, in time for the movement. The assignment of tourist cars for troop movements was handled from Washington by the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster General's Office, assisted by a representative of the Pullman Company at the capital. By the adoption of these methods the War Department and railroads alike hoped to prevent a repetition during the operations in Mexico of the congestion which occurred during the war with Spain. That they succeeded is generally agreed. Both the Chief of Staff and the Secretary of War commended the special committee for its splendid co-operation with the government, and the President warmly congratulated the American Railway Association on its patriotic efforts.<sup>5</sup>

From the beginning of the Great War in 1914 many persons in the United States realized that this nation might at any moment become involved in the struggle. Common prudence dictated the necessity of preparation. It was this motive which led to the crea-

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Secretary of War to state governors, June 18, 1916.

<sup>5</sup> *Reports of the Q. M. G.*, 1916, 1917; *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1916; *Report of the Chief of Staff*, 1916.



tion of the Council of National Defense, which was authorized by the Army Appropriation Act of August 29, 1916. An Advisory Commission of the Council, consisting of seven members, was formed, and Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and chairman of the Advisory Commission, was named chairman of a Committee on Transportation and Communication. Its function was the organization of the transportation facilities of the country for the rapid transportation of the large bodies of troops and the enormous quantities of supplies which would be needed if the United States should enter the war.<sup>6</sup>

February 16, 1917, at the request of Mr. Willard, the executive committee of the American Railway Association met in New York City and decided to enlarge the Special Committee on Co-operation with the Military Authorities and to designate it as a Special Committee on National Defense. Though not officially a part of the Council of National Defense nor of its Advisory Commission, it was closely associated with the latter and was sometimes regarded as a subcommittee of the Advisory Commission. Its function was the organization of the railroads for mutual co-operation and co-ordination in case of emergency. Fairfax Harrison, who had been chairman of the Special Committee on Co-operation with the Military Authorities in 1916, was named chairman of the new committee. Four district committees, eastern, central, southern, and western, were established, corresponding to the four military departments of the United States, with whose commanding generals they were to co-operate in connection with the work of the Council of National Defense. The chairmen of these district committees, with Mr. Harrison as general chairman, constituted a special executive committee.

The new Special Committee on National Defense met in Washington March 1, 1917, in conference with the Secretary of War and representatives of the General Staff and the Quartermaster General's Office. At this meeting Colonel Baker, representing the Quartermaster General, presented a definite plan for co-operation between the government and the railways. The railway committee on March 2 decided that the district committees should get in touch with the military commanders of their respective departments as soon as possible. It was also decided that in case of any large troop movements the transportation should be handled under the same plan as in 1916. The central office of the executive committee in Washington

<sup>6</sup> *First Annual Report of the Council of National Defense* (Washington, 1917).

was put under the charge of George Hodges, a man of wide railroad experience, who had been in immediate charge of the transportation of troops in 1916. By the first of April the organization was practically complete. The railroads were the first great industry of the United States to perfect an organization to co-operate with the military authorities and to offer its services to the Secretary of War.<sup>7</sup>

The emergency for which the railroads had been preparing came on April 6, 1917, when the United States declared that a state of war existed with the imperial German government. The following day the Council of National Defense directed the chairman of the Committee on Transportation and Communication to call upon the railroads to organize for the utmost despatch in the movement of freight.<sup>8</sup> In answer to the chairman's summons, nearly fifty railway presidents, representing the transportation interests of the entire nation, assembled in Washington April 11, 1917, and resolved to "co-ordinate their operations in a continental railway system, merging . . . all their merely individual and competitive activities in the effort to produce a maximum of national transportation efficiency".<sup>9</sup> To accomplish this object the railway executives empowered the American Railway Association's Special Committee on National Defense to formulate and direct the carrying-out of a policy of operation for all the railroads. The four district subcommittees composing the Special Committee were increased to six to agree with the territorial departments of the army, which had on April 2 been likewise increased.<sup>10</sup> Fairfax Harrison remained general chairman of the committee.

An executive committee of five members was chosen from the general committee and Mr. Harrison was appointed chairman with authority to select the four other members. Daniel Willard, representing the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, and Edgar E. Clark, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, were *ex officio* members. This committee, which came to be known as the Railroads' War Board, directed the operation of virtually all the railroads of the United States; no less than 693 railroads, controlling over 260,000 miles of track and employing almost 1,750,000 persons, agreed to carry out its orders. During the summer and autumn of 1917 the War Board attempted to secure higher efficiency and better utilization of the available transportation facilities.

<sup>7</sup> *Rept. of the Q. M. G.*, 1917.

<sup>8</sup> *First Ann. Rept. of Council for Natl. Defense* (Washington, 1917).

<sup>9</sup> Special Committee on National Defense, *Am. Ry. Assn. Bulletin*, no. 9, Apr. 16, 1917.

<sup>10</sup> *General Orders*, no. 38, War Dept., Apr. 2, 1917.

ties by co-ordinating their efforts and sinking, so far as the existing laws permitted, their competitive individual interests.<sup>11</sup>

The creation of the Railroads' War Board in the spring of 1917 was "probably the most important and revolutionary step" taken in the history of American railways to that time. By placing the operation of all their facilities under the direction of a single committee of five for the period of the war, it constituted them, with certain limitations, a single continental system. "At the same time, it placed the services of this great railway system unreservedly at the disposal of the government. . . . Perhaps the most significant feature of the matter was that this act on the part of the railways was purely voluntary. No law required it. Another of its very significant features was that the step was taken without any prospect of especial consideration or compensation having been held out by the government".<sup>12</sup> This was in decided contrast with the situation in England, where the government at the very beginning of the war assumed control of the railroads by law. While the English railroads transported troops and munitions free of charge, their earnings were guaranteed by the government.

Subordinate to the Special Committee on National Defense and acting under the direction of its executive committee were several subcommittees. The more important of these were the Commission on Car Service and the subcommittees on Military Transportation Accounting, on Military Passenger Tariffs, and on Military Freight Tariffs. This organization, thus established with permanent headquarters at Washington, with its staff of experts and employees, with subcommittees both in Washington and in many cities throughout the country, was maintained wholly at the expense of the railroads.<sup>13</sup>

The organization described above was designed to control the operation of the entire continental system of railways, and it was as much concerned with the private shipper and traveller as with the government. To handle the problem of troop transportation there was built up at Washington in the office of Fairfax Harrison,

<sup>11</sup> Edgar E. Clark, Interstate Commerce Commission, *Government Control and Operation of Railroads, Hearing before the Committee on Interstate Commerce*, U. S. Senate, 65 Cong., 2 sess., pursuant to S. Res. 171 (Washington, 1918), p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> R. H. Aishton, president of the Chicago and N. W. R. R. and chairman of Central Department Subcommittee of the Railroads' War Board, address, Sept. 14, 1917, before the St. Louis Railway Club, quoted in *Railway Age Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1917, pp. 547 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Special Committee on National Defense, *Bulletin*, no. 9, Apr. 16, 1917.

general chairman of the Railroads' War Board, a small but very efficient organization known as the Troop Movement Force, which was placed under the immediate direction of George Hodges, assistant to the general chairman. Mr. Hodges had been in charge of the troop transportation for the railroads in 1916, and the system used then was expanded and adapted to the greater emergency. The functions of the central bureau of the Troop Movement Force were briefly these: to gather all necessary information regarding equipment needed and available; to arrange for the transfer of equipment from one road or section of the country to another; to expedite the return of empty cars; to keep informed as to threatened conditions of congestion, and to make provisions for avoiding it; and, generally, to assist in every way practicable in the smooth operation of troop trains.<sup>14</sup> In time, this central bureau in Washington came to be divided into three sections: a routing section, which arranged routes subject to the approval of the Quartermaster General; a transportation section, which controlled the arrangements for the actual movement of troops over the railroads involved, and kept in touch with all that concerned troop transportation by means of daily reports from the transportation general agents; and a Pullman section, which apportioned the available tourist cars to the various troop movements under authorization for their use from the Quartermaster General. Liaison between the central bureau and the War Department was maintained through an officer of the Quartermaster Corps and a railway representative. Representatives or general agents of the American Railway Association, designated by the Special Committee on National Defense, were stationed at each of the six departmental headquarters of the army, in the office of the governor or adjutant general of each state, at the headquarters of the Construction Quartermaster, and at each mobilization and concentration camp, cantonment, and port of embarkation. At each place were two general agents, one reporting to the Troop Movement Force and the other to the Military Transportation Accounting Subcommittee. The latter assisted the departmental and camp quartermasters in making out transportation requests, bills of lading, and the like. The former was assigned as a transportation expert, and it was his duty to keep in touch with the quartermaster at his post, to see that all trains and cars were provided when needed, that loading was properly done, and in general to translate

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, *Bulletin*, no. 8, Mar. 27, 1917; also *Special Regulations*, no. 63, War Dept., Apr. 20, 1917.

into terms of action the transportation necessities of the army.<sup>15</sup> The railroad companies throughout the country were each directed by the central bureau to designate a "troop reporting official", who should be responsible for the carrying out by his company of orders from Washington or from the general agents. These "troop reporting officials" were entrusted with the cipher code used by the Troop Movement Force in reporting the movements of troop-trains.<sup>16</sup>

December 28, 1917, the government assumed control of the railroads and on the thirty-first the members of the Railroads' War Board resigned. Their subcommittees were either taken over by the United States Railroad Administration, or dissolved, and their functions were assigned to other parts of that organization.<sup>17</sup> The Troop Movement Force, however, did not at once become a part of the new administration, and for some months its members continued their work as before and were still spoken of as American Railway Association representatives. The government's assumption of control over the railroads occasioned no alteration in the functioning of their organization. May 24, 1918, the Troop Movement Force became the Troop Movement Section of the Division of Transportation of the United States Railroad Administration. George Hodges, who had been in charge of the work since its initiation, was appointed manager, and the functions of the section were defined as the arrangement for, and supervision of, the details of the movement of troops, with their impedimenta, routing, provision of equipment, etc.<sup>18</sup>

The authority to order the movement of troops was vested in the Secretary of War, who exercised his power through the General Staff, the co-ordinating agency of the War Department. Orders, once approved by the Chief of Staff, were issued by the Adjutant General of the army. During 1917 and the early part of 1918 all matters relating to troop movements were handled by the Operations Committee of the War College Division of the General Staff. In the reorganization of the General Staff, February 9, 1918, this committee was consolidated with the Equipment Committee of the same division under the name of Operations Division. It was charged with the cognizance and control of army operations and

<sup>15</sup> George Hodges, Memorandum on Troop Movement Force, Dec. 31, 1917.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with H. Y. Turner, Troop Movement Section, Mar. 10, 1919.

<sup>17</sup> For a full account of the work of the Railroads' War Board and of the U. S. R. R. Administration one must seek elsewhere. Here we are concerned only with the Troop Movement Section.

<sup>18</sup> Circular, no. 3, U. S. R. R. Adminis., Div. of Trans., May 24, 1918.

was placed under an officer designated as the Director of Operations, who was an assistant to the Chief of Staff. Among the duties of the division were the movement and distribution of troops and the determination of all "overseas priority". Brigadier-General Henry Jervey was appointed Director of Operations, and the great troop movement of 1918 was carried out under his supervision.

After orders for the movement of troops and their equipment had been issued, the duty of providing the means of transportation devolved upon the Quartermaster Corps.<sup>19</sup> The Transportation Division of the Quartermaster General's Office handled all matters pertaining to transportation, whether on land or sea, and through its Land Transportation Branch it supervised all movements of troops and quartermaster supplies by land.<sup>20</sup> During the early months of the war the Land Transportation Branch, when advised of a projected troop movement, at once notified the department and camp quartermasters concerned as to the route to be used; it also informed the Troop Movement Force of the American Railway Association. The latter organization then issued instructions regarding the date of the movement, the assembling of railway equipment, etc., to its department and camp general agents directly concerned, who co-operated with the local quartermasters in arranging the details of the movement. The routing and movement of parties of fifty or less might be ordered by any officer in charge at the point of origin; the movement of larger parties within a department was controlled by the department quartermaster, while all inter-department movements of more than fifty men were authorized at first through the Quartermaster General's Office at Washington, and, after the organization of the Inland Traffic Service in January, 1918, by the Troop Movement Section of that agency. After October 10, 1917, routings were issued by the Troop Movement Force of the railroads, subject to the approval of the Quartermaster General.<sup>21</sup> August 4, 1917, the Embarkation Service was created in the office of the Chief of Staff and charged with the co-ordination of all shipments of munitions and supplies of every kind and of all troop movements whose ultimate destination was Europe.<sup>22</sup> Department and division commanders were ordered not to send any organiza-

<sup>19</sup> *Army Regulations*, 1913, par. 1000; *Field Service Regulations*, 1914, par. 388.

<sup>20</sup> *Rules and Regulations of the Quartermaster General* (1915), pp. 209 ff. This paper does not concern itself with the problem of the transportation of supplies, but only with the story of troop movements.

<sup>21</sup> *Bulletin*, no. 37, Oct. 10, 1917, of executive committee of Special Committee on National Defense, Am. Railway Assn.

<sup>22</sup> *General Orders*, no. 102, War Dept., Aug. 4, 1917.

tion to a port of embarkation until the details connected with the movement had been arranged directly with the commanding general of the port or with his subordinates.<sup>23</sup>

The very serious congestion on the railroads in the autumn of 1917 led to the taking over of the railroads by the government on December 28, as noted above. On the same day the Storage and Traffic Division of the General Staff was created and placed under Major-General George W. Goethals. January 10, 1918, in an effort to centralize and co-ordinate all army transportation, General Goethals appointed Mr. H. M. Adams, an experienced railroad man, director of inland transportation,<sup>24</sup> and instructed him to organize a Division of Inland Transportation (called after May 1, 1918, the Inland Traffic Service), which should have jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the routing and transportation, inland, by whatever means of transport, of all troops and property.<sup>25</sup> The new organization had to do primarily with the transportation of supplies, and its activities in connection therewith cannot be discussed here. In this article we are concerned only with its relation to the movement of troops and their "unit equipment". Generally speaking it assumed the place formerly held by the Land Transportation Branch of the Quartermaster General's Office. The officer who had been in charge of that branch since December 1, 1917, became assistant to Mr. Adams on January 18, 1918, and exercised direct supervision over the handling of troops.<sup>26</sup> A Troop Movement Section was established in the Division of Inland Transportation, and after February 26 it was placed under an officer who had formerly been located in the office of the Quartermaster General as civilian representative of the American Railway Association. The principal function of the Troop Movement Section was to act as a channel of communication between the Operations Division of the General Staff, the Embarkation Service, and the Troop Movement Section of the railroads. After movements had been ordered by the Operations Division through the Adjutant General, the department or camp quartermasters requested the Troop Movement Section of the Inland Traffic Service to supply routings, dates of movements, equipment, etc.; this information it secured from the railroad organization, and if it approved the routings proposed it informed the

<sup>23</sup> Adjutant General to commanding generals of all departments and divisions, Dec. 29, 1917.

<sup>24</sup> Office Order (not numbered), Director of Traffic, Jan. 10, 1918.

<sup>25</sup> *Id.*, no. 151, Director of Traffic, Jan. 15, 1918.

<sup>26</sup> Memorandum of Lt.-Col. H. S. Ray, for executive officer, Purchase, Storage, and Traffic Division, Dec. 5, 1918.



military authorities interested as to the routes to be followed, the availability of Pullman and coach equipment, and the scheduled dates for the movements. The Troop Movement Section of the railroads issued the same instructions to the railroads interested and to their department general agents, who informed the camp general agents.<sup>27</sup> The responsibility for carrying out instructions rested entirely upon the railroads and the local military authorities were not permitted to change a plan once decided upon nor to interfere with the operation of a train.

During 1918, when an ever increasing number of troops was being shipped overseas, a monthly conference was held at which the Operations Division, the Embarkation Service, the Troop Movement Section of the Inland Traffic Service, and the Troop Movement Section of the railroads were all represented. At this conference a tentative schedule for the next month was arranged. The Operations Division stated what organization it desired to move overseas; the Embarkation Service stated the probable amount of tonnage available; and the railroad officials indicated the amount of equipment they had on hand and to what extent they would be able to co-operate. The date at which an organization was desired at the port of embarkation or at the embarkation camp was fixed by the commanding general of the port. The Land Transportation Branch of the Quartermaster General's Office continued to handle all transportation matters not determined by the Inland Traffic Service, but its work was taken over more and more by the latter and on June 15, 1918, it was abolished.<sup>28</sup>

The movement of troops with their impedimenta, of selective service men, and recruits may be divided into five phases: first, the movement of the Regular Army from the border to various camps; second, the movement of the National Guard to its training camps; third, the movement of the men of the National Army from their homes to the cantonments; fourth, intercamp movements to meet the needs of the service; and lastly, the movement of organizations from the camps to ports of embarkation.<sup>29</sup> This arrangement is not only a convenient one, but it is in the large sense strictly chronological.

The active military forces of the United States, at the outbreak of war, numbered 200,157.<sup>30</sup> These men were distributed at vari-

<sup>27</sup> Capt. J. D. Cutter to the same, Dec. 12, 1918.

<sup>28</sup> Office Order, no. 464, office of Q. M. G., June 15, 1918.

<sup>29</sup> Memorandum of George Hodges, Dec. 31, 1917.

<sup>30</sup> Mobilization Table, no. 3, Mobilization Section, Historical Branch, War Plans Division of the General Staff.

ous army posts throughout the country, in outlying possessions of the nation, and in China; approximately 50,000 were on or near the Mexican border.<sup>31</sup> In May it was decided to concentrate the border troops at a comparatively small number of camps, principally in the North and East, where the various regiments might be utilized as nuclei for larger organizations, recruits from depots be added, and training for overseas service begun. The first movements recorded by the Troop Movement Section of the railroads began on May 18, 1917, when various regiments on the Mexican border began to entrain for other points. By June 4 this movement, involving the transportation of approximately 25,531 officers and men, was completed. Owing to the relatively small number of men involved and their experience in travel the task of moving them was performed with great ease by the railroads. The longest journey during this period was that of the 1913 men of the 23d U. S. Infantry, who travelled 2624 miles from El Paso, Texas, to Syracuse, New York; the shortest was that of the 1306 men of the 13th Cavalry, from Fort Bliss, Texas, to Fort Riley, Kansas, a distance of 943 miles. These organizations took with them all their baggage, organization property, and animals. Where conditions warranted it, the troop property and animals were loaded on a special train with only a few soldiers; in other cases the troop-train was composed not only of tourist sleepers for the men and baggage- and box-cars for their impedimenta, but also of flat-cars for vehicles and stock-cars for the animals.

It was at this time that the troops for the first convoy were concentrated at Hoboken for transportation to France. Not one of the eight organizations comprising this first combatant force to cross the Atlantic travelled less than 2000 miles to the port of embarkation. One regiment of infantry travelled 2679 miles from Douglas, Arizona; the others came from various points in Texas. The 11,234 men concerned travelled an average distance of 2392 miles to their destination. The first units to leave the border were the supply companies of the four infantry regiments, which entrained on May 31; the infantry regiments and the other units entrained June 2-3, and by June 10 the last train had arrived at Hoboken. The Troop Movement Force of the railroads made all the arrangements for this movement, which has been characterized as the longest long-distance movement of troops that had ever been made

<sup>31</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General of the Army* (1917), table opposite p. 19.

at one time in the United States to that date.<sup>32</sup> It was a record often surpassed during the next seventeen months.

July 3, 1917, the President issued a proclamation calling into the service of the United States the National Guard of thirty states. The same proclamation provided that on August 5 the entire National Guard of the nation should be drafted into the military service of the government.<sup>33</sup> At this time the National Guard consisted of sixteen tactical divisions. Orders were issued for their concentration, for organization and training, at as many camps, all of them located in the southern half of the country. The movement of the state troops to camp involved the transportation by rail of about 343,223 men, and extended over a period of eleven weeks, from August 4 to November 23. The entire movement was made by the railroads upon the schedule outlined by the War Department; at the suggestion of the Troop Movement Force it was twice suspended for brief periods during the movement of increments of the National Army to their cantonments.<sup>34</sup> The greater part of this movement of the National Guard was completed before the middle of October, 1917; in November the New England regiments still in camp in the North were ordered to Camp Greene, North Carolina. In general, when a unit of the National Guard moved from its home state to camp it carried with it all its organization property, vehicles, and animals. Heavy tentage in most cases was shipped direct from depots to the training camps and not carried by the separate units. Statistics are not at hand for the complete movement of the Guard, but up to October 11, 1917, there had been transported to camp 294,752 officers and men.<sup>35</sup> The average distance travelled was 770 miles; in the South, as a rule, the National Guard went but a short distance to camp, while the men from the Northern states often travelled great distances—the Montana National Guard, for example, journeyed 2645 miles to Camp Greene, North Carolina.

In August, 1917, the War Department authorized the formation of a seventeenth National Guard division, the Forty-second, from units selected from twenty-seven states. This division was concentrated at Camp Mills, Long Island, in the latter part of August, 1917. Those units possessing vehicles, engineer, signal corps, and other heavy equipment, transported it to Camp Mills and shipped

<sup>32</sup> F. E. Williamson, general agent, New York, to Maj. D. A. Watt, adjutant, port of embarkation, Hoboken, N. J., July 17, 1918.

<sup>33</sup> General Orders, no. 90, War Dept., July 12, 1917.

<sup>34</sup> Memorandum of George Hodges, Dec. 31, 1917.

<sup>35</sup> Records of the Troop Movement Section, U. S. R. R. Adminis.

their animals to Newport News. Other units of this division, being newly organized, had no animals, technical or other equipment beyond quartermaster supplies, to carry with them.<sup>36</sup>

The movement of the National Guard was still in progress when the first detachments of the new National Army left their homes for the cantonments on September 5, 1917. The process of mobilization, under the Selective Service Administration, may be divided into three stages: the requisition, the call, and the entrainment. During 1917 all requisitions and all calls were made for "the run of the draft", *i.e.*, for men, either white or colored, who were physically qualified for general military service. Practically all of these men were sent to one or another of the sixteen National Army cantonments provided for the purpose. But during 1918 new conditions arose and men with certain physical, occupational, or educational qualifications were requisitioned. Moreover the number of stations to which men could be sent was increased to include every post in the United States, Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, as well as hundreds of schools and colleges. After the calls to be issued under a particular requisition had been allocated to the states which were to contribute to the levy, induction telegrams were issued from Washington, calling on the respective states for the entrainment of their quotas. The railroads were then consulted, the camp commanders notified, and the proper supply bureaus informed. Upon receipt of a call, each state headquarters proceeded to allocate the call for that state among its local boards.

"The time set for entrainment was generally made by the local boards an occasion of formality and ceremony, and in most communities it took on the marks of a public festivity." There were public addresses, parades, and demonstrations at the railroad stations. It was this public celebration on the day of entrainment which had much to do with popularizing the draft; for "the general sentiment of military patriotism came thus to be associated in an open and emphatic manner with the processes of the draft".<sup>37</sup> Prior to July 31, 1918, drunkenness among drafted men en route to camp had occasionally led to disorders resulting in damage to railroad equipment and other property. On that date certain changes were made in the Selective Service Regulations which provided for the wearing of a brassard in lieu of a uniform by all draftees, thereby making it illegal to sell liquor to them; for the

<sup>36</sup> *Report of the Acting Chief of the Militia Bureau* (1918), pp. 8-10, 139.

<sup>37</sup> *Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War* (Dec. 20, 1918), pp. 232 ff.

appointment of leaders for each contingent; and for the distribution of regulations governing drafted men en route to camp. These changes resulted in the practical elimination of all further trouble.<sup>38</sup>

The 4531 entraining points and (in 1918) the hundreds of stations to which the selectives were sent complicated the entrainment problem tremendously. Before a call could be issued the Railroad Administration required fourteen days' notice to enable it to compile and print the train schedules for the movement (which was usually distributed over a five-day period), and to make the necessary arrangements with the railroads. In 1917 the entrainment schedules were all compiled and published by the several passenger associations of the country, and a representative of the American Railway Association was placed in the office of the governor or adjutant general of each state to adjust any difficulties that might arise.<sup>39</sup> During 1918 the United States Railroad Administration supervised the preparation of the schedules and replaced the "A. R. A." man by a "military representative" of its Traffic Division. These schedules, which were most elaborate, were prepared for each call in every state. Each gave the number of the call, the dates set for the movement, the camp to which the men were to go, the county, county-seat, and entraining station, the number of men from each county, the route to be followed, the time of departure, and the arrangements made for providing meals.<sup>40</sup> Copies of each schedule were placed in the possession of the railroads concerned and of every one of the local boards at points of origin. As a result of this careful attention to detail, the mobilization proceeded so smoothly that few persons in the community at large realized the enormous task which was being performed.

The Provost Marshal General in his reports on the operation of the Selective Service System<sup>41</sup> expresses the utmost admiration of the work of the railroads throughout the war. "No more difficult transportation problem", he says, "could be conceived"; their work "was so satisfactorily performed that less than a dozen complaints were received during the whole year" of 1918. At times they were called upon to handle as many as 50,000 selected men in one day, and to transport within a single month over 400,000 men for the selective service system alone. Their performance on November

<sup>38</sup> Changes, no. 7, Selective Service Regulations, July 31, 1918.

<sup>39</sup> Memorandum of George Hodges, Dec. 31, 1917.

<sup>40</sup> "Specimen Entrainment Schedule", *Second Report of the Provost Marshal General*, pp. 325 ff.

<sup>41</sup> *Rept. of the Provost Marshal Gen.* (Dec. 20, 1917), p. 26; *id.*, *Second Report* (Dec. 20, 1918), pp. 239 ff.

11, 1918, was especially noteworthy. Calls had been issued and all arrangements completed for the entrainment of some 250,000 men during the five-day period beginning on that day. At 10.25 A.M. on Monday, November 11, the United States Railroad Administration was advised by telephone that the Secretary of War had cancelled these calls. "In 35 minutes they had notified all the railroads of the country; had stopped further entrainment; had reversed such contingents as were en route; and were restoring the men to the original points of entrainment. This achievement", continues the Provost Marshal General, "stands out as a marvel of efficiency and is but an indication of the co-operation which they constantly rendered."

The total number of men called under the selective service system was 2,801,358. According to the records of the Provost Marshal General's Office 2,755,476 of these men were transported to camp by railroads controlled by the United States Railroad Administration.<sup>42</sup> The average number of miles travelled by each man was 388; the entire mobilization therefore involved the equivalent of 1,069,124,688 miles of travel by one passenger. It is estimated that the movements required for the mobilization under the selective draft represented about one-fourth of the entire troop movement for the War Department.

By the middle of October, 1917, the greater part of the National Guard troops had reached their training camps in the South, and nearly 450,000 selected men of the first draft had been transported to the sixteen National Army cantonments. The movements of the Regular Army already described involved about 36,765 men. Beginning about the first of August, 1917, large intercamp movements of the Regular Army began, in the course of which organizations were ordered from their stations to more convenient camps and concentration points, and recruits were transported from various depots throughout the country to the camps. One small group of recruits, for example, was ordered from Vancouver Barracks to Waco, Texas, a distance of 4078 miles. In September and October training *cadres* of 961 men each were ordered transferred from the Regular Army to each of the sixteen National Army divisions.<sup>43</sup> During the autumn of 1917 some 50,000 men of the Regular Army were transferred from their stations in the North to more comfortable winter quarters in southern camps. As time went on the intercamp movements of the regulars increased in frequency and by

<sup>42</sup> *Second Rept. of the Provost Marshal Gen.*, pp. 240 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Army War College Records.*

January 1, 1918, approximately 308,000 had been thus moved about the country. It was the general policy of the Operations Committee always to move troops from the West towards the ports of embarkation, but it was not always possible or practicable to do so.

About the middle of October, 1917, the Operations Committee began to transfer from each National Army cantonment sufficient drafted men to bring the corresponding National Guard division to full strength. In this connection an interesting situation developed in the South. In September it began to appear that if the three southern National Guard divisions—the 30th, 31st, and 39th—were to be brought to full strength by men drawn from Camps Jackson, Gordon, and Pike, the corresponding National Army cantonments, these latter camps would each be left with more colored than white troops, which was deemed highly undesirable. To concentrate all the white men from these three cantonments at one would leave the other two with no white men and all their negroes. The problem was finally solved by distributing the entire colored draft throughout the country in such a way that the ratio of whites to colored was everywhere preponderant; by filling up all the National Guard divisions with National Army men from the corresponding cantonments; by concentrating at Camp Jackson all the remaining white men in Camps Jackson, Gordon, and Pike, and forming of them an "All-Southern" National Army division (the 81st); and by forming at Camps Gordon and Pike two composite National Army divisions (the 82d and 87th) of men drawn from all the remaining National Army cantonments except Camp Lewis. To accomplish all this necessitated the transportation of between 105,000 and 110,000 more men than had been anticipated by the Operations Committee.<sup>44</sup> Beginning about December 15 many National Army troops were transferred to camps where Regular Army organizations were being recruited to full strength. In the last ten weeks of 1917 approximately 175,000 drafted men were moved from one camp to another.<sup>45</sup>

During 1918, as the army continued to grow in size, these inter-camp movements increased in volume. The practice of drawing on the drafted men to fill the National Guard and Regular Army divisions continued. In March the Operations Division began to draw on the depot brigades of the National Army for men for various special and technical services—for corps and army troops, for

<sup>44</sup> Memorandum of Capt. T. W. Hammond, General Staff, for Chief of Staff, Sept. 27, 1917, approved Oct. 4, 1917. *Army War College Records*.

<sup>45</sup> Records of Troop Movement Section, U. S. R. R. Adminis.



engineer regiments, field signal battalions, replacement organizations of various kinds, medical and veterinary units, the Quartermaster Corps and Ordnance Department, and for the United States Guards. Then men of the Medical Department, either as individuals or as organizations, were constantly moving to and from the medical training camps at Fort Riley, Fort Benjamin Harrison, and Camp Greenleaf; aero squadrons were leaving the aviation mobilization camp at Waco, Texas, for various flying fields, and during the summer and autumn of 1918 there was a steady stream of men to and from the National Army training detachments at various educational institutions throughout the country.<sup>46</sup> These intercamp movements involved about 42 per cent. of the total number of men transported by rail between January 1 and November 11, 1918.

No accurate statistics are available regarding the number of men who travelled on furlough during the war, but that extremely heavy demands were made upon the railroads by the furloughs granted at divisional camps for week-ends and holidays is obvious. At Thanksgiving and at Christmas, 1917, the number of men on leave was well above 100,000 in each case. As for the number of men regularly on leave, the general agent at Camp Meade, for example, estimated that about 11,500 men (about 30 per cent. of the total strength of the camp) were granted passes or furloughs during the week of February 10.<sup>47</sup> At Camp Sherman 30 per cent. of the 32,900 men in the camp were granted leaves of absence for Christmas, 1917, and it was the custom at that camp to grant week-end passes to 25 per cent. of the men in each unit.<sup>48</sup>

The movement of troops to the ports of embarkation for transportation overseas was necessarily conditioned by the War Department's plans regarding the composition and strength of the expeditionary forces, and a brief discussion of these plans is requisite for a complete understanding of the problem. At the outbreak of the war and for some time thereafter the War Department had no definite plan of operation.<sup>49</sup> At the request of both the British and French governments, however, it was decided to despatch as soon as possible base hospitals, ambulance units, railway engineers, and other auxiliary troops, who could be utilized at once by the allied

<sup>46</sup> *Bulletins*, nos. 1 ff., Misc. Div., Adjutant General's office.

<sup>47</sup> Report of general agent at Camp Meade to George Hodges, Feb. 18, 1918.

<sup>48</sup> Reports of general agent at Camp Sherman to George Hodges, Dec. 10, 1917, and Feb. 27, 1918.

<sup>49</sup> Memorandum from the office of the Chief of Staff for the Adjutant General, Apr. 6, 1917; comment by General Bliss, acting chief of staff, on memorandum from General Kuhn, May 28, 1917.

armies, and throughout the remainder of 1917 noncombatant troops formed a large proportion of those sent overseas. But in June, 1917, at the urgent insistence of the French, a small division of combatant troops was sent abroad, and by January 1, 1918, two complete divisions and parts of three others were in France. July 10, 1917, General Pershing transmitted to Washington his "general organization project" for the A. E. F., which called for a force of twenty combat divisions and ten replacement divisions, organized in five corps of six divisions each, with the proper proportions of corps, army, and service-of-the-rear troops.<sup>50</sup> This force, about 1,328,448 men, was to be in France "in time for an offensive in 1918".<sup>51</sup>

September 11, 1917, the War College Division in a memorandum for the Chief of Staff discussed the problem of raising sufficient men by September 1, 1918, to meet General Pershing's request. Instead of five corps, they planned to create seven corps of six divisions each with the necessary corps and army troops. The last corps would have but four divisions. Apparently their idea was that it would be possible to transport overseas four corps by April 1, 1918, the fifth corps by June 1, the sixth by July 1, and the seventh by August 1. Such an army would have numbered 1,675,000 men. On October 7, 1917, General Pershing sent to the War Department a "Priority of Shipments Schedule" in which was shown the order in which he desired the troops for the expeditionary forces despatched to France. The schedule did not apply to the special and technical troops furnished the French and British, nor did it cover the replacement drafts, aviation troops, and headquarters personnel. Its purpose was to provide a proper balance between all the various elements of the expeditionary forces. The existing situation, he said, was difficult because the service-of-the-rear troops in France did not bear an adequate proportion to the combat troops already there or expected in the near future. The schedule outlined a plan of shipment by "phases", of which there were six in all. Each phase, except the last, consisted of one corps of combat troops and the proper proportion of service-of-the-rear, corps, and army troops. He desired 50 per cent. of the service-of-the-rear troops to precede the combat troops in each phase and the remaining 50 per cent. to be shipped with the first half of the com-

<sup>50</sup> "A. E. F." project of Sept. 18, 1917.

<sup>51</sup> In his memorandum of July 10, 1917, Pershing places his total forces desired at 1,100,000; Sept. 18, 1917, he increases this figure to 1,328,448. In his Schedule of Priority of Shipments, Oct. 7, 1917, he names 1,247,399 as his grand total, excluding aviation and replacement troops.

bat troops of that phase. The six phases called for 275,200, 267,490, 246,248, 231,743, 210,100, and 16,618 men respectively and the total number was 1,247,399. Without specifying any particular date, General Pershing indicated his desire to have the first four phases—about 1,020,000 men—in France in time for the 1918 offensive. This date was usually set at June 1, 1918.

Throughout the winter of 1917–1918 an effort was made by the Operations Division to have the shipment of troops conform as closely as possible to the “Priority of Shipments Schedule”, but various things conspired to make this difficult. In March, 1918, Pershing cabled that altogether too many combat troops were reaching France in proportion to service-of-the-rear (service of supply, “S. O. S.”), corps, and army troops.<sup>52</sup> But the chief difficulty was the shortage of ocean tonnage, especially cargo tonnage, for obviously it was inadvisable to ship troops to France unless we were prepared to maintain them there. The limited production of certain necessary supplies and the limited facilities for embarkation and especially debarkation still further complicated matters. In February, 1918, the situation looked so black that the Director of Operations believed it would be virtually impossible to transport the first three phases—819,000 men—to France by August 1, 1918; it might be practicable, he thought, to send over about 300,000 men in addition to the 275,000 men of the first phase which he anticipated would be in France by March 1. But as a basis for requirements and estimates on the part of the supply bureaus he suggested a “tentative strength table” calling for the presence in France of 837,000 men by June 1, 1,051,000 by August 1, and 1,372,000 by December 1. In other words, the hope of fulfilling General Pershing’s plan for an army of five corps in France in time for an offensive in 1918 was postponed until 1919. On February 25, 1918, the plans and recommendations of the Director of Operations were approved by the Secretary of War.<sup>53</sup> This is really the first “official plan” for the raising and transportation of the army.

The success of the German offensive which began March 21 was so great that the War Department was led to attempt what five weeks earlier had been considered impossible. Ships were procured, men and supplies were provided, and the greatest troop movement in history began. The complete story of that achievement cannot be told here, for its success was dependent rather upon ship-

<sup>52</sup> Memorandum of Gen. Henry Jervey, director of operations, to the Adjutant General, Mar. 27, 1918.

<sup>53</sup> Memorandum of Gen. Henry Jervey to the Chief of Staff, Feb. 18, 1918.

ping than upon the railroads. But it must not be forgotten that every man shipped abroad had to be transported by rail to the port of embarkation before he could go aboard ship and that frequently detachments travelled farther by rail to reach the port of embarkation than they did by army transport to reach the port of debarkation in France or England. Between the first of May, 1917, and the eleventh of November, 1918, the Troop Movement Section of the railroads supervised the transportation to the various ports of embarkation of 2,174,455 men. Of these 1,758,033 or 81 per cent. of the total, were transported to Hoboken and the embarkation camps serving that port, 250,404 men, or about 12 per cent., to Newport News, and the rest to other ports.<sup>54</sup> Of the total number carried to the ports of embarkation during the nineteen months of the war 76 per cent. (1,653,470 men) were embarked for overseas in the seven months from April to November, 1918. The shipment of troops continued to follow the "Priority of Shipments Schedule" of October, 1917, but with the emphasis upon combat troops and at no time during the war did the number of auxiliary troops or "S. O. S." troops attain the proportions desired by General Pershing. So far as divisions were concerned the first three phases had been completed by the middle of June; by August 12 the combat troops, at least, of five phases were overseas, and the Operations Division was planning to send the sixth and seventh phases of combat troops. By November 11 these seven phases had been completed. July 18, 1918, it was decided to increase the American Expeditionary Forces abroad to at least eighty divisions (about 3,360,000 men) by June 30, 1919, and the succeeding drafts were all calculated upon that basis.<sup>55</sup> But the signing of the armistice November 11 halted the fulfillment of these ambitious plans. At that time there were approximately 3,757,624 men in the United States Army; of these some 2,086,000 had been transported overseas and 1,671,000 remained in the United States.<sup>56</sup>

The limitations of space forbid any detailed discussion of the movement of troops to the ports of embarkation. It must suffice to describe the method by which troops were despatched from camp to seaboard. In the first place the Operations Division of the General Staff drew up from time to time "priority lists" designating certain units for service overseas and giving the contemplated dates of

<sup>54</sup> *Annual Report of the Director General of Railroads* (1918), "Operations", p. 47.

<sup>55</sup> *Report of the Chief of Staff, U. S. A., to the Sec. of War* (1919), pp. 10 ff.

<sup>56</sup> *Annual Report of the Secretary of War* (1919), pp. 3 ff.

their movement from mobilization camps to ports. These programmes, made after conference between the embarkation officials, the Inland Traffic Service, the Troop Movement Section of the railroads, and the Operations Division, General Staff, usually covered shipments from camps to ports for a period of one month in advance. They directed the various departments to prepare the troops thus designated for overseas service, and when they were ready, to notify the Director of Embarkation at Washington. A copy of the list, subject to change, was forwarded to the port of embarkation, where it was turned over to the "dispatch office". That office then sent to each organization listed a letter of instructions and the embarkation and debarkation regulations. When a reply was received stating that the organization was fully equipped, or equipped except for certain shortages that could not be supplied, the Director of Embarkation was notified. He in turn informed the Adjutant General, who telegraphed the department or camp commander to forward the troops when their presence was desired at the port. As soon as space was available at the embarkation camps, or on transports, and provided the organization stood in the proper place on the priority schedule, it was ordered to port on the authority of the commanding general of the port of embarkation. The general agent of the Railroad Administration notified the Troop Movement Section at Washington of the movement and the latter then arranged the routing and train schedule to conform as closely as possible to the desires of the dispatch office. "The movements of the troops to the ports were so timed as to fit in with all other rail movements throughout the United States so as to avoid congestion and an excessive demand for equipment during a limited period."<sup>57</sup> The various authorities of the port who were interested in the movement were also informed and were thus enabled to make the necessary preparations for the reception of the organization upon its arrival. The general agent and the local quartermaster at the starting point were responsible for the assembling of equipment and the arranging of all the details of departure.<sup>58</sup>

Such was the process followed in the case of troops not in divisions. With divisions the procedure was somewhat different. When a division on the priority list was reported nearly ready to entrain for the port, the dispatch office telegraphed for the division liaison officer and at the same time ordered into the embarkation camp the

<sup>57</sup> *Rept. of the Chief of Staff, U. S. A., to the Sec. of War* (1919), p. 40.

<sup>58</sup> Report of Maj. S. J. Chamberlin, dispatch officer, to the commanding general at the port of embarkation, Hoboken, N. J., Aug. 29, 1918.

advance debarkation and billeting detachments and the advance school detachments, which usually preceded the division abroad.<sup>59</sup> Before the great troop movement began in April, 1918, an attempt was made to have the various elements of a division entrain in the order General Pershing desired them to arrive in France.<sup>60</sup> The first units to depart for the seaboard were generally the engineer regiment and field train, field signal battalion, and sanitary squadrons; then came the division headquarters, followed at a little interval by the headquarters train and military police, the remaining divisional trains, half the medical complement of field hospitals and ambulance companies, the bakery and butchery company, and base hospital. These were followed by the two infantry brigades, the machine-gun battalion and artillery brigade in the order named, and the remaining auxiliary units brought up the rear. The 32d Division, for example, observed this arrangement quite closely in its movement from Camp MacArthur, Waco, Texas, to Camp Merritt, New Jersey. The movement began January 10, 1918, and was not completed until February 13. To transport the 24,874 men in the division required fifty-eight trains, each averaging fifteen cars and carrying 428 men. The distance travelled averaged 1969 miles per train and was covered in five days and eight hours, at an average rate of 15.3 miles per hour.<sup>61</sup>

As general agents, camp quartermasters, entraining officers, and railroad officials became more experienced in the handling of troop-trains they constantly bettered their previous records. One or two examples of what they accomplished will not be out of place here. On June 19, 1918, the 91st Division began its movement from Camp Lewis, Washington, to Camp Merritt. Between that date and June 30, sixty-four trains were despatched eastward carrying the 27,085 men of the division. The last train arrived at its destination at 9:00 P.M., July 6. These sixty-four trains were sent over thirteen different routes, the average distance travelled by each train being 3205 miles. Running at about twenty miles per hour each train required an average time of six and a half days to make the journey across the continent. The average number of cars per train was thirteen; of men 423.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps the best performance of the war in the field of transportation was the movement of the 18,819 men of the 8th Division (less its artillery brigade) from Camp Fre-

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Memorandum of Lt.-Col. J. R. McAndrews, General Staff Corps, for the Chief of Staff, Dec. 7, 1917.

<sup>61</sup> Records of the Troop Movement Section, U. S. R. R. Adminis.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

mont, California, to Camp Mills, Long Island, in October, 1918. The first train left camp at 9:00 A.M., October 18; the others at hour and a half intervals from 9:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M., at the rate of six trains per day; the last train left at 4:30 P.M., October 24. These forty-two trains averaging 448 men and 13.8 cars to the train, traversed the 3444 miles to their destination at an average rate of speed of 20.2 miles per hour. The average time per train was seven days and three hours. The efficient co-operation of all concerned in the movement made possible the despatch of all the trains on the minute scheduled, with the exception of two, which were respectively four and five minutes late. As a result of a competition in loading inaugurated among the train commanders, few trains after the second day required more than five minutes from the time of arrival of the troops in the entraining area to the last man entrained. Fifteen trains were loaded in less than three and a half minutes each.<sup>63</sup> The utmost secrecy was maintained in the despatch of troop-trains to ports of embarkation and all telegraphic reports regarding their movements were transmitted in cipher. While railroad officials had been authorized as early as September 13, 1917, to notify accredited Red Cross representatives at points where troop-trains were scheduled to stop, on December 11 they were instructed not to impart this information in the case of trains moving toward a seaport.<sup>64</sup> This restriction remained in force until October 12, 1918, when it was removed by order of the Director of Operations.<sup>65</sup>

As regards equipment it was at first the policy of the War Department to send troops to the ports of embarkation completely equipped with both personal equipment and organization property. This was not always practicable, however; the artillery units almost without exception took no guns with them, and horses or mules, when taken, were usually sent to Newport News for shipment to France. In November, 1917, General Pershing was insistent that all divisions and other units sent to France should be completely equipped with the authorized transportation, at least, before leaving the United States.<sup>66</sup> The instructions to the ports of embarkation directed that all equipment so far as practicable be shipped on the same vessel with the organization to which it pertained,<sup>67</sup> but the

<sup>63</sup> Report of Capt. C. D. Gorton, entraining officer, 8th Div., to commanding general, 8th Div., Oct. 26, 1918.

<sup>64</sup> *Bulletins*, nos. 30, 30A, Sept. 13, Dec. 11, 1917, of ex. com. of Special Committee on Natl. Defense, Am. Railway Assn.

<sup>65</sup> Memorandum, Gen. Henry Jervy for the Adjutant General, Oct. 12, 1918.

<sup>66</sup> Pershing, cable no. 279, par. 5, Nov. 10, 1917.

<sup>67</sup> Director of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic to the Adjutant General, Apr. 19, 1918.



heavy troop movements in the summer of 1918 made this procedure difficult if not impossible. July 5, 1918, Pershing cabled that confusion existed due to the fact that organizations were still arriving without their equipment. He recommended that the organizations should be embarked with their equipment on the same transport; if that were impossible, organizations should be stripped of their organization property in the United States, the property turned into depots and subsequently shipped in bulk without reference to any particular organization: it would thus become available for general issue.<sup>68</sup> The second alternative was adopted August 10, 1918; troops were ordered to take with them overseas only individual equipment and clothing, field ranges and organization records.<sup>69</sup> Until July 11, 1918, each enlisted man was entitled to carry with him a barrack bag with extra equipment, the weight being limited to seventy-five pounds; after that date his clothing and equipment were reduced to that carried on the person. Officers' baggage also was reduced, company officers being allowed to take only 150 pounds instead of the 250 pounds previously authorized.<sup>70</sup>

From May, 1917, when the Troop Movement Section began its work, until November 11, 1918, the railroads of the country transported 8,714,582 men, an average of 502,764 per month. The maximum was reached in July, 1918, when no less than 1,147,013 men were moved. Between September 5, 1917, and the armistice 2,287,926 drafted men were entrained at 4531 separate points in larger or smaller units and moved on schedule to their stations, in many cases upward of a day's journey, and in all cases were fed in transit.<sup>71</sup> It would be difficult to overestimate the amount of detail involved in routing, scheduling, moving, and feeding these men. It required 11,959 special troop-trains, each averaging 875.4 miles, to transport 5,046,092 men, in addition to the drafted men referred to above and the 1,380,564 men carried on regular trains. This is undoubtedly the greatest long-distance troop movement by land in history. The railroads carried 2,174,455 men into the crowded port terminals for embarkation overseas without interfering with the heavy traffic already being handled through those ports and in the

<sup>68</sup> Pershing, cable no. 1419, July 5, 1918.

<sup>69</sup> *Circular*, War Dept., Aug. 10, 1918.

<sup>70</sup> *Id.*, July 11, 1918.

<sup>71</sup> The figures given here are those of the Troop Movement Section. *Second Rept. of the Provost Marshal General* (1918), p. 241, says that 2,755,476 drafted men were transported to camp by rail. It is quite possible that many men transported in regular trains were not reported to the Troop Movement Section, which concerned itself primarily with the movement of special trains.

adjacent territory. During one period of thirty days more than twenty troop-trains each day were brought into the port of New York. During the entire period of the war there were but sixteen train accidents involving death or injury; but thirty-nine men were killed and 335 injured. Of the total number of men moved during the war about 26.2 per cent. were drafted men on their way to camp; 24.9 per cent. were troops moving toward the ports and the remaining 48.9 per cent. represents the mobilization of the Regular Army and National Guard, and the intercamp movements.

To accomplish so vast an achievement required the use of approximately 70,413 sleeping-cars, 135,756 coaches, 16,285 baggage- and express-cars, and 23,075 freight-cars. The average number of men carried in each special troop-train was 421; the number of cars per train was 12.6 and an average rate of 19.8 miles per hour was maintained. Besides the 11,959 special troop-trains mentioned above it is estimated that 4576 special trains were required for drafted men. It was not found necessary, as in Europe, to utilize freight-cars for the transportation of troops; and in fact it was customary to furnish sleeping-cars in all journeys which extended over twenty-four hours. It was not always possible to do this, of course, but 2,671,074 men, about 30.6 per cent. of all troops moved, were handled in Pullman cars.<sup>72</sup>

The work of the railroads of the United States in transporting the soldiers of the American army to the camps, from camp to camp, and finally to the ports of embarkation for service overseas, was not spectacular, nor did it receive as much attention as it deserved from the people of the country, for much of it was necessarily veiled in secrecy and the newspapers said very little about it. But it was splendidly done, nevertheless, and it was by no means the least factor in the ultimate success of the United States in the war. That the War Department so regarded it is shown by the fact that in March, 1919, it conferred the Distinguished Service Medal upon Mr. George Hodges, manager of the Troop Movement Section, for meritorious services in connection with the movement of troops in the United States.

ROSS H. McLEAN.

<sup>72</sup> *Annual Report of the Director General of Railroads* (1918), "Operations", pp. 46 ff.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### THE GERMAN INDEMNITY AND THE SOUTH

COMPARISONS are odious to the historian because events are so differently conditioned that it is difficult to set the camera to the same scale in any two cases. Comparisons between the generosity of the North in its treatment of the South after the Civil War, and the harshness of the Versailles Peace, are so often made, however, that it seems worth while to square the basis on which such a comparison should rest.

In the first place, according to very ingenious estimates recently worked out by my student, Mr. J. L. Sellers, the South expended for the war a proportion of its wealth about four times as great as that expended by the North. Secondly, the war was fought in the South, and the destruction of property was immense. Thirdly, such Southern property as had passed into the hands of the Confederate government, and it was large, including much of the cotton then selling at so high a price, passed into the hands of the Federal government. In these respects the South was much worse off relatively to its opponent than Germany at the close of the late war.

In addition, the defeat of the South inevitably entailed the overthrow of the southern industrial system. This was not a matter of the freeing of the slaves alone. That might theoretically have been accomplished without any disturbance of economic values, but practically was bound to be extremely costly. It actually involved, moreover, the practical overthrow of the plantation system of agriculture. Besides these changes which amounted to an industrial revolution, there was the repudiation of the Confederate currency, the Confederate debt, and the war debts of the states. This wiping out of property rights almost completely destroyed the financial relationships of the South, and made necessary the slow rise of a new economic leadership. Many of these changes were ultimately beneficial, but they meant that for fifty years the South was economically handicapped in ways that Germany has scarcely noticed.

It is from this base that comparable measures in the case of Germany and of the South are to be viewed; and here the comparison seems to escape notice because though the economic measures are comparable, the political conditions differ. Germany remains inde-

pendent, the South was reincorporated into the United States. The result is that an indemnity is used in the case of Germany, while the ordinary course of taxation brought from the South its share of the war compensation and cost incurred by the North. The South paid its full share of all the Northern war expenses, in so far as they had been met by loan—about four-fifths of the whole—and also its share of the \$20,000,000 direct tax. It paid its full share of the pensions for Union soldiers, the same being raised from the whole country and for the most part paid to residents of the North. In addition the voice of the South has, since the war, counted, until lately, almost nothing in determining the economic policies by which these taxes were to be raised and its industries fostered. I cannot at present estimate the weight of these contributions upon the South, as compared with the burdens exacted from Germany, but the burden was a heavy one.

The South received in return, aid in rebuilding its railroad system, and some relief for food shortage in 1865 and 1866. The army of occupation was paid for nationally, the South contributing only its share. The national administrative services kept certain things going, that might have failed utterly had the South been alone, and the maintenance of national credit was a distinct contribution.

The great difference in the two cases which was beneficial to the South was that political unity meant a free field for individual co-operation, and that Northern capital and mechanical skill helped the South, as foreign capital and skill are not apt to help Germany.

The reader is especially asked to notice that attention is here called to economic conditions purely, and that no attempt is made to apply standards of justice or legality to even these.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*A History of the Art of Writing.* By WILLIAM A. MASON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. ii, 502. \$5.00.)

THIS is a comprehensive, well written, interesting, profusely and admirably illustrated book. It covers the whole field of writing in sixteen chapters from Primitive Picture-Writing to the Age of Printing, discussing between these two the various systems of writing used by the North American Indians, the ancient Mexicans, the South Sea islanders, the Chinese, the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Hittites, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, that used in the Middle Ages, and the European alphabets derived from the Greek. It is a panorama of wide extent, and no man could dream of knowing all these multitudes of languages and scripts in an authoritative manner, or even being master of the vast bibliography of them. If these all were to be treated with the assured hand of a master the book could only be written by many men with a masterful editor to mold them into unity, and the book thus produced would run great risk of being unreadable by the unlearned, and this book produced by one mind is assuredly not that. Such a suppositious book would have to be reviewed by a number of men each possessed of technical knowledge in but a few languages. It would be interesting to submit this book to such an examination, but that would far exceed the judicious amount of space and attention which a journal of history could allot. I make not the slightest pretence of appraising the excellence of the chapters on the writing of the American Indians, the Mexicans, the South Sea islanders, the Chinese, or yet others, but have given a careful examination of the discussion of the Egyptian, the Cuneiform, the Hittite, and the Phoenician scripts where my own scientific studies have lain, and am sorry to have to admit that the conclusions are disappointing. These chapters, before publication, should have been submitted for advice and criticism to experts—the evidence for this is overwhelming, but only a part of it can here be set down. The fundamental fault of all these chapters is that the literature on which they are based is generally, though not quite universally, old and at times very old, far behind the present conclusions of philological and historical science. The best of these chapters is the one on the Egyptians, but that is deficient in only a less degree than the others. On p. 194 there is reproduced a plate of a part of the Rosetta inscription which comes from William Osbourn, *The Monumental History of Egypt*, vol. I., facing p. 168, and

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Mason did not notice that the Greek for "writing" (γραμμασιν) has been omitted. (See Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 326.) Osbourn's book was published in 1854, and should not have been used. The translation of the Central Park obelisk (Mason, pp. 197-199) leaves much to be desired, and for the centre line (Thotmes III.) Breasted's translation (*Ancient Records of Egypt*, II., 255) should have been used. On p. 210 it is said of Menes, "the mummy of this king . . . discovered at Thebes in 1897, now reposes in the Gizeh Museum in Constantinople". This is a confusion of inaccuracies; the king's mummy has not been found, but only a fragment of a vase with his name, and that was discovered at Thinis, where he was probably buried, and the Gizeh Museum is in Cairo, not in Constantinople. Far less acceptable is the chapter on Cuneiform Writing which abounds in errors, of which a few may here find mention. On p. 224, the reference 2 Kings xxv., should be 2 Kings xxiv. 14; p. 228, Medic should be Susian or Elamite; p. 230, "One branch of this Mongol race in Mesopotamia inhabited the northern part of the valley, called by them Akkad, 'the mountains', giving the name Akkadian to their language." This is quite wrong, though reminiscent of older views. The Akkadians were Semites. The inscription on p. 231 translated, "Nebuchadrezzar, eldest son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, restorer of the tower and of the pyramid I", should be rendered "Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, preserver of Esagila and Ezida, first-born son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon (am) I"; and the text on p. 233 translated, "Beltis, his lady, has caused Uruk, the pious chief, King of Hur, and King of the land of the Akkad, to build a temple to her", should be, "To Innina, his lady, Ur-engur, great man, King of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, built her temple". These errors are due to the use of antiquated authorities, for when Miller later in the same chapter uses Barton his results are better, only to slip again on p. 245, where the Sumerian inscription should be translated, "Ur-Nina, king of Lagash, son of Gunidu, the house of Girsu, has constructed". On p. 250, line 10 from bottom, "Babylon" should be "Sumer", and on p. 258 Sharganishar-ali is wrongly identified with Sargon; this was believed in 1907 when Clay wrote (*Light on O. T. from Babel*) but he is now known to be a different king. (See Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia*, p. 133, and compare Rogers, *Hist. of Babylonia*, II. 36 f.) The chapter on the Hittites needs much revision, the translations from the Assyrian on p. 272 are not satisfactory, and the reliance upon Conder (p. 285) as a decipherer is ill-placed. The chapter on the Phoenician alphabet leaves much to be desired. The Moabite Stone is well reproduced on p. 293 from Lidzbarski, but the transliteration of its opening lines (p. 294) contains a serious error. There is no such name as Kamoshmald, which is perhaps an accidental corruption of Kemosh-mlk, but the lacuna in the original after the word Kemosh is sufficient for only two letters, and Lidzbarski suggests that the word should be read Kemosh-kn, though many others would read

Kemosh-mlk. I have exceeded the reasonable limits of this notice, but the book seemed to deserve serious examination, and I have given it. I hope it may reach a second edition, and receive a rigorous revision to make it still more deserving of confidence.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

*Le Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne: Histoire Économique de la Grèce depuis la Période Homérique jusqu'à la Conquête Romaine.*  
Par GUSTAVE GLOTZ, Professeur d'Histoire Grecque à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. 468. 12 fr.)

THIS is one of a projected twelve-volume series under the general editorship of Georges Renard of the Collège de France, which has set itself the ambitious task of presenting in fairly connected form a universal history of labor. Six of the volumes are already in print. The work assigned to Professor Glötz on Greek labor has been broadly conceived by him, and its result is much better expressed in his subtitle, "Economic History of Greece", than by the word "labor". This breadth of treatment is fortunate. Through it, all phases of Greek economic development, the professions, fishing industry, agriculture, free labor both skilled and unskilled, slave labor, manufacturing, the growth of state monopolies, transportation and marketing, tools and technical methods, appear in synthetic treatment in their essential interdependence. The entire economic sequence is well developed upon the background of the changing political conditions of the Greek world, in part motivating these political changes, less markedly reacted upon or determined by them.

The book is exceedingly well done, both in organization of material and in the charm and clarity of its style. Although planned, as the entire series seems to be, to appeal to the intelligent reading public of France, the work of Glötz will be used by professional scholars with gratitude to its author for filling a marked gap in their literature. It is because of the entirely scholarly character of the work that the consistent omission of all references to the ancient sources will be felt as an irritation by the academic clientèle which should, and necessarily will, use it. The conclusions as well as the facts are certainly based upon Glötz's own knowledge of the widely scattered original material, except in the Hellenistic period, where he depends upon the best secondary sources, Bouché-Leclercq, Wilcken, Preisigke, and others. The text is full of source-quotations which one should not be forced to look up by laborious thumbing.

The progress of Greek economic development is presented in four periods: the Homeric, archaic, Athenian, and Hellenistic. This division is justified by the author as corresponding to the increasing quantity and changing character of the sources available in these periods. The

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term "archaic", generally accepted in the study of Greek sculpture, is badly chosen to designate the period of Greek colonization and trade expansion.

Glötz's analysis of the principles of work required in the economic field of ancient history is altogether admirable. The rigorous discipline against self-deception which he demands, against rationalizing from insufficient or inconclusive evidence, is the only method by which a sound knowledge of ancient economics can ever be reconstructed.

The absence from the bibliography of a number of fundamental books and articles shows that the secondary material upon the subject has not been entirely covered. The prevailing European attitude of neglect of American scholarship perhaps explains the omission of Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens*, though Trever's dissertation upon Greek economic thought was used. Rostovtsev's article *Fruementum* in Pauly-Wissowa, and Weber's "Agrargeschichte" in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, as well as Reil's excellent dissertation on the trades in Hellenistic Egypt (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Gewerbes in Hellenistischem Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1913), might all have been used with profit by Glötz.

In his conclusion Glötz attempts to establish an inherent difference between ancient and modern economic and social conditions, based upon the ancient system of "manufacturing" with slave labor, as against the modern machine-factory system, which is not reconcilable with the system of slavery. This distinction, the fundamental character of which is certainly questionable, aligns Glötz against the views of Eduard Meyer as expressed in his *Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums* and his *Sklaverei im Altertum*.

I believe that Meyer's view is the sound one. Whatever be one's decision upon this point, Glötz certainly misunderstands or misrepresents Meyer's attitude when he classes him with Pöhlmann and his *Communismus und Socialismus*, and accuses them equally of establishing a Greek "proletariat", consciously voicing the demands of modern socialism (p. 456). There is no real foundation for such a criticism of Meyer, either in the two great monographs mentioned above, to which Glötz and all the rest of us are greatly indebted, or in his synthetic history. For Meyer's attitude toward Pöhlmann's work see his *Geschichte des Altertums*, V. 283: "in the title itself [Pöhlmann] gives expression to an historical point of view which I do not regard as applicable." After all, the war is over, and Meyer remains the greatest figure of his time in ancient historiography. The omission of his *Geschichte des Altertums* from Glötz's bibliography is, therefore, a strange one.

W. L. WESTERMANN.

## BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung.* In Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von LUDO MORITZ HARTMANN. Band IV. *Das Mittelalter bis zum Ausgange der Kreuzzüge.* Von S. HELLMANN. (Gotha: F. A. Perthes A.-G. 1920. Pp. iii, 350. M. 24.)

BRIEF notice has already appeared in the *Review*<sup>1</sup> of Professor Hartmann's *Weltgeschichte*, composed by him and other German scholars, of which the fourth volume is now before us. Herr Hellmann's book begins with the foundations of the Frankish kingdom and ends with the death of Frederick II. The first section, of four chapters, carries Frankish history through the dissolution of Charlemagne's empire. There follows a section of five chapters concerned with the ascendancy of Germany and with the awakening of the Anglo-Saxons, of the Scandinavians, and of the Slavs to political life. The only unsatisfactory chapter in this section is the final one, on Islam and Byzantium previous to the Crusades, brief perhaps because these subjects have been dealt with in the preceding volume of the series. The last and most extended section, entitled "Das Zeitalter der Hierarchie", consists of nine chapters—on the social and economic aspects of the period, the Church and the papacy through the investiture struggle, the first Crusades, the new Capetian and Norman-Angevin monarchies, Frederick I. and Henry VI., the age of Innocent III. and Philip II., the advance of western Christian civilization against Moslem Spain and against the Byzantine world, in the Fourth Crusade, Scandinavia and the folk on the eastern German border, and Frederick II. There is a general bibliography of sources and literature as well as a brief additional list preceding each chapter, and a chronological table of important events covering seventeen pages. There is no index.

The aim of the book, consistent with that of the series, as Professor Guillard has described it, is to disclose the great historic currents of world development. In this respect Hellmann's volume is in the main excellent. The directions of these currents are as admirably outlined in the general introduction, for the period as a whole, as in the shorter introductions which precede each of the three sections of the work. Clearly and definitely drawn, these pages, with the epilogue, constitute excellent interpretative historical passages. The inner meaning of the early Middle Ages is touched with a sure hand. Not only has the author succeeded here, but several of the chapters, amply supplied with detail as they are and must be, are written with a broad sweep; the opening chapter is a model of successful weaving of intricate pattern.

There are some obvious defects in the work. Panoramic *Weltge-*

<sup>1</sup> In Professor Antoine Guillard's article on "German Historical Publications, 1914-1920", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV. 641-642.

*schichte* naturally face the danger of superficiality. The writer has not entirely overcome this difficulty. The pages on economic developments are undoubtedly superficial, perhaps necessarily so. As for bibliography, the book makes no pretence to exhaustive lists (for example, the only source cited at the head of the chapter on the foundation of the Frankish kingdom is Gregory of Tours), but even when they are viewed merely as selected bibliographies there are questionable omissions. As an illustration, no work of this kind, containing many pages on English institutions, should fail to mention to readers whom it aims to direct to more intensive treatments the work of Stubbs, especially when the book is presumably meant for use outside of England. It is on the institutional side that the book is weakest: the bifurcated root of the immunity is not recognized (p. 26), the ecclesiastical influence in the development of the benefice is ignored (p. 33), although both institutions are supposedly fully discussed; the Anglo-Saxon ealdormen and Canute's earls are confused (p. 130); the feudal régime in the Crusaders' states in Syria is described from the Assizes of Jerusalem as of the early twelfth century (p. 217) although Dodu's *Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques* is listed in the bibliography of the chapter.

The defects last mentioned may be due in part to hasty writing and to a desire for quick publication without careful editing, since there are other evidences of this in very careless proof-reading. Unfortunately too, the press-work is in sad contrast to what we were wont to expect from German workmen. The war however has not biased the writer's attitude toward the commanding rôle of French civilization in the history of Europe in the Middle Ages.

E. H. B.

*Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age.* By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Goucher College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 451. \$6.00.)

THE viking incursions into western and southwestern Europe began toward the close of the eighth century and continued for a period of nearly two hundred years. English writers have given us much information of a general sort about these invasions; but their accounts have little to offer concerning the social aspects of the movement—the ideas, the customs, the religious beliefs, and the political institutions which the vikings brought with them into the lands that they seized and occupied. Scandinavian scholars have, however, not allowed these fields to lie fallow. Alexander Bugge has described the social life and the economic activities of the viking period. Hjalmar Falk has discussed the methods of navigation and the art of warfare. Finnur Jónsson and Axel Olrik have studied the intellectual activities and the literary sources of the time. Oscar Montelius has described the material

civilization of the North in the early Middle Ages. Johannes Steenstrup has outlined the legal and political systems in the viking settlements. And there are many others whose studies, though less inclusive, have added materially to our knowledge of Scandinavian life in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The researches of these men have revealed a civilization which in many respects compares favorably with the culture of contemporary Christian Europe. Their conclusions have in part been made accessible to English and American readers in Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People*; but for the larger field there is no other work quite so inclusive as Professor Mary W. Williams's volume on *Social Scandinavia*. Professor Williams begins her presentation with three introductory chapters on the land and the people, kinship and nationality, and social classes. She next describes the environment and traces the typical activities of the Northern people in the closing years of heathendom, from the day when the infant received his name to the later day when his kinsmen drank the grave-ale. As life in the Northern countries was quite largely rural, the greater part of the work deals with conditions and occupations on the medieval farmstead; but the author has added a fairly adequate account of town life and commercial methods. The public life of the age is discussed under the heads of government, systems of justice, and religious worship. The intellectual culture is described in a series of chapters dealing with language, literature, scientific knowledge, religion, superstition, and the runes.

Though Professor Williams's study has the appearance of being in large part a compilation, it is not wholly of that character. The author has evidently made an extensive study of the sources for the period, not only the laws and the sagas, but also the material remains of the age, in which the Northern countries are comparatively rich. She accepts Fridtjof Nansen's belief that the Finns of the saga period were not the ancestors of the modern Finns, but a primitive Aryan race, traces of which may still be found in Denmark and southwestern Norway; but she rejects Nansen's theory that this people was fundamentally Celtic. Certain topics, like marriage and divorce, the position of woman in heathen society, and superstitious beliefs, Miss Williams appears to have studied with particular care. Her general conclusion seems to be that, while the position of the gentler sex was not entirely ideal, it was more endurable than that of the Christian women in the lands beyond the sea. Though she admits that the sources show clear traces of the suttee, it is her opinion that the practice of burning widows had become practically obsolete long before the saga period. She believes that the same was true of wife-purchase: the terminology used is frankly commercial; but the bridegroom was apparently no longer purchasing the bride but the guardianship over the bride.

It can scarcely be said that Professor Williams has exhausted her theme; but an author has the right to impose limits, and the reviewer

has no fault to find with the plan. In places the proof-reader has failed to note errors; the foot-note references to Scandinavian titles should have been read with greater care. Thorberga (p. 115) should no doubt be Bergthora. The reviewer doubts very strongly that any Northern ship in the saga period ever carried as many as one thousand men (p. 253). The map showing the "towns and areas of Scandinavian influence" is useful for the location of towns, but the area of influence is somewhat overdrawn.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

*Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy.* By CHARLES WENDELL DAVID, Associate Professor of European History in Bryn Mawr College. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1920. Pp. xiv, 271. \$3.00.)

ROBERT CURTHOSE, the oldest son of William the Conqueror, is usually described as a kindly and generous but lazy and incompetent prince, one who possessed neither the capacity nor the energy demanded for the government of a turbulent province like the Norman duchy. This view apparently still holds. Duke Robert's latest biographer, Dr. C. W. David, makes no attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the discredited prince; in fact after one has read Dr. David's account of Robert's career, one feels that earlier estimates of his character and abilities were probably too generous. Mr. E. A. Freeman, who did not love the Norman dynasty, was at least willing to grant that Duke Robert possessed real abilities as a warrior and a leader of armed men. Dr. David doubts the correctness of this estimate: "Robert was, so far as we know, never foremost in council; he was rarely foremost on the field of battle, and he showed no particular capacity for generalship" (p. 119).

It is doubtful whether the career of the "sleepy duke" is really worthy of an extended study. Dr. David's work finds its justification, however, in the fact that Duke Robert's reign covered a period of Norman history which can be most satisfactorily studied from the viewpoint of ducal policy. The two decades following the death of William the Conqueror were a period of much confusion, especially along the borders of the duchy, which confusion was in great measure due to the weak government of the careless duke. The author devotes the greater part of his work to these years. Duke Robert's struggle with the barons on the border, his loss of Maine, his difficulties with his more aggressive brothers, his effort to obtain the English crown, his loss of ducal authority and personal freedom—these and other related subjects are discussed with all the fullness of detail that the sources permit. Dr. David has included chapters dealing with Robert's career before he inherited the ducal coronet, with the part that he played in the First

Crusade, and with his long imprisonment after the disaster at Tinchebray; these, though of some interest and necessary to the completeness of the work as a biographical study, are of minor importance. The narrative closes with a chapter on "Robert Curthose in legend", in which the author follows his subject into the field of romance and shows how within a single generation the story of the duke's military achievements in the Orient had become overlaid with legendary growth.

Dr. David has added several useful appendixes, most of them dealing with problems relating to Duke Robert's participation in the First Crusade. Appendix A is devoted to a critical discussion of the sources, which, though somewhat brief, will be found of real value. Students of military history will be interested in Appendix F, in which the author reviews the controversy as to the tactics employed at Tinchebray; the conclusion is that Oman, though he exaggerates the importance of the infantry in this fight, is more nearly correct than most of his critics who have generally held that the battle of Tinchebray was chiefly a matter of cavalry warfare.

While Dr. David has not presented any new conclusions of startling importance, he has produced a volume which students of English and Norman history will find exceedingly useful. His researches have cleared up a number of controversies as to biographical and political details, and he has been able to correct the conclusions of earlier writers, like Freeman and Gaston Le Hardy, on many significant points. The result is that our knowledge of Norman affairs during the period covered is far more accurate and specific than it formerly was. The volume is carefully indexed and is provided with a map showing the principal places in England and Normandy referred to in the narrative. The reviewer is pleased to add that the work of the printer and the proof-reader seems to have been done with unusual care.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

*Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition, containing the Results of Recent Research and Discovery.* By HENRI CORDIER, D.Litt., Professor at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. x, 161. \$4.00.)

THE names of Henry Yule and Marco Polo will always remain inseparable in the minds of those who have the medieval geography of Asia and the study of the Mongol period on their hearts. Hardly any other medieval traveller has exerted such a profound influence on modern research, whether it be geography or cultural history, nor could he have been more lucky in finding so competent and sympathetic an interpreter as Yule. His edition of Polo, first published in 1870 (second ed., 1874; third ed., 1903, by H. Cordier), has become a classic and household book in the hands of all students interested in Asia; and



during twenty-five years of activity I do not know of any work that I have consulted and quoted more frequently than Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, which is an inexhaustible mine of information on almost all questions bearing on the history, geography, ethnography, and folklore of medieval Asia. Professor Henri Cordier, to whom we are indebted for a revised and largely increased edition of Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, has collected in this small volume of 162 pages additional information apt to shed light on Polo's observations or on Yule's comments, and either published in print after 1903 or contributed to him by his correspondents and collaborators directly. The volume thus presents a harvest mostly of brief notes and essays with reference to the third edition and arranged according to Polo's chapters. This book is easily readable only for those who know their Polo by heart, or who have closely followed the discussion of pending problems, and this small band of readers will doubtless peruse the volume with great pleasure and profit. Others will have to refer constantly to Yule's edition, and must first read up in order to appreciate the fresh evidence. There are no new contributions from the hand of the editor; the most valuable notes are from the pen of Sir Aurel Stein, chiefly concerning the route and topography of the Venetian. Sir Richard C. Temple has supplied a very interesting notice of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which gives a good summary of the present knowledge of the inhabitants. The reviewer has contributed twelve short articles, also the only illustration, which serves as the frontispiece, and which represents a Lo-han out of a Chinese series of Five Hundred Lo-han. Most readers will be at a loss to grasp the *raison d'être* of this illustration in the book, no explanation to this effect or a page-reference being added to the plate. It refers to the article on the alleged Marco Polo Lo-han of Canton (pp. 8-11).

The editor has given a few additions to Yule's bibliography, to the manuscripts of Polo's work, and to Polo literature. The proof-reading is not carefully done, and even whole words have occasionally dropped from a sentence. Nor does the editor discuss or decide contradictory opinions of his collaborators. Thus on pp. 69-70 two conflicting interpretations of the Mongol word *chinuchi* peacefully follow each other. In my opinion, that given by Pelliot is far-fetched and wrong; but how is the unsophisticated reader to decide for himself? The same difficulty is prominent in Cordier's third edition: the method adopted is simply to quote authorities in full and *verbatim*, and in many cases one statement flatly contradicts another. What will the editor of the fourth edition do? New materials will doubtless come to light during the next years; and if this method of mere citation, without an intelligent discussion of the problems, should be kept up, Yule's head will finally be buried under a mass of débris, and the commentary will no longer be intelligible or useful. It seems to me that the new editor should break



away from the past, fling the superfluous ballast overboard, retain only what is good, and present a co-ordinated essay in the place of a massed attack of bewildering notes.

B. LAUFER.

*Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century.* By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 427; viii, 432. \$9.00.)

It is now almost a decade ago that Henry Osborn Taylor gave us *The Medieval Mind*, a work which, in a masterly manner, traced for us the gradual formation of the medieval spirit until it found the end of its development and proper issue of its genius, at the close of the thirteenth century, in the immortal *Divina Commedia*. There were many who looked forward to another book from the same pen that should have to do with the Renaissance; and so, when at last a new work by the same author was announced, and we learned that its chief purpose was to give an exposition of thought and expression in the sixteenth century, some of us wondered why the two intervening centuries had been ignored. Slighted they are, but not ignored. It would have been impossible to have overlooked them altogether even in a book that has for its purpose the presenting of a survey of only the sixteenth century. Even in the preface, the fifteenth century assumes its rightful place side by side with its immediate successor. "We shall treat the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," says our author, "as a final and objective present." And what has he done with the fourteenth? "All that went before," he tells us, "will be regarded as a past which entered into them." Thus, evidently, he would date a new era from the close of the fourteenth century. But the attempt fails. The century of Petrarch and Boccaccio and Giotto refuses to be regarded as medieval. Its place as the first modern century quickly becomes evident. In the first pages of the book we find our author telling us that "Petrarch was a great inaugurator", that Boccaccio, in "looking to life" and "drawing from life", was not medieval, that "no man is medieval who goes straight to the life about him", and that the work of Giotto, "summing up the past's attainment" and "incorporating riches of its own", was "altogether a prefigurement of Italian painting in the *Cinquecento*".

The truth of the matter is that a new era began towards the close of the thirteenth century. More than once our author finds himself obliged to repeat that "emotionally as well as intellectually, the final *summa*, and a supreme expression, of the Middle Ages was the *Divina Commedia*". There is, of course, much that is medieval in Dante; but to summarize a period is to end it. Dante could not have been "the voice of ten silent centuries", as Carlyle said he was, had not the time permitted him to view the work of those centuries as being essentially completed. And so to the present writer it seems that it would have

been better had our author taken the fourteenth century more fully and formally into consideration. A full and frank acceptance of the three centuries of the Renaissance as a distinct and vital period in the human story might have had a decidedly beneficial effect upon the book.

The book attempts a survey of the Renaissance and the Reformation. In dealing with the first of these two movements it devotes two dozen chapters to the development of letters, literature, art, science, and philosophy; and eleven chapters are allotted to the Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist, and Anglican theological revolts against Rome.

The chapters devoted to the humanists will be found useful and stimulating by every student of this period; but there is still need of a study that shall segregate and arrange for us the forward-looking thought of these men who, in addition to their attachment to the literature of the classical past, were so greatly interested in the life of their own time and place, and who so eagerly endeavored to peer into the future. The boldness of Lorenzo Valla's thought, for instance, is insufficiently indicated; and virtually to content oneself with saying that Luigi Pulci was "a genial and comic soul" is surely to miss the pregnant fact that his writings show us that men were coming to have faith only in themselves.

It is quite true that "painting became, and never ceased to be, the supreme expression of Italy", the medium through which "the Italian genius unfolded itself most completely". And so one wonders why only one of the thirty-five chapters is devoted to it, and why all Venetian painting has been dismissed undescribed with the rather peremptory statement that it "is better to look at, and surrender one's self to, than to read and write about". Our author understands Ghirlandajo far better than he comprehends Botticelli, a fact which, as we read on, we discover to be somewhat indicative of the character of the entire chapter; but many of his enthusiasms are justifiable and contagious, especially that for Leonardo. Here and there a slip is to be detected, as when he tells us that though the instincts of Michelangelo's "dynamic nature turned to the masculine rather than the feminine form" one may "stand astonished before the feminine figure of *Night* in the Medici Chapel". The statue, in the first place, is not in that temple of the lapidary's art, and never was, but in the austere and classical new sacristy which adjoins the chapel. And then, in the second place, though it is the figure of a woman, it has been given masculine characteristics; it is a nude female form treated in the male key. The fact that the great artist could never escape or conceal his passionate preference for the male form is very significant in any sympathetic approach to the study of his character and genius.

There are similar slips in the chapters that have to do with the theological revolts. Luther was a friar, not a monk. It is an error to declare that "assuredly the worship of the Virgin and the saints is

a Roman Catholic tenet". It is a practice of the members of that church to adore those persons, to entreat their intercession with God, but not to worship them. It is not altogether true to say that John Huss "drew his doctrines" from Wyclif. Huss was deeply indebted to the English reformer; but he was, at the same time, the heir of a long series of Bohemian reformers. Then there are a number of inaccurate statements concerning the sacrament of confession. Leo X., we are told, "proclaimed a 'plenary indulgence' offering sweeping benefits to purchasers". All the benefits that could possibly be conferred upon the purchasers are implied in the word "plenary". What our author probably means is that sweeping financial benefits were offered to the *sellers* of the indulgence. Then we are informed that the priest pronounces "absolution from eternal punishment". He does nothing of the kind. He absolves only from guilt. And when that is done it remains for the penitent to fulfill the punishment which his sins have incurred. "Righteousness through faith alone", it is declared, "would have been intangible" in the Middle Ages. Quite so. It is intangible to many to-day. The sufficiency of faith without works, a faith that cannot be acquired by any merit whatsoever on the part of the person concerned, a faith that comes to him solely as the gratuitous gift of another, will continue to remain intangible to many who believe themselves to be able and willing to reason accurately.

It is acknowledged that Calvin's "*post mortem* grip throttled liberal thought and studies in Geneva". The unfortunate Servetus felt the effects of that grip eleven years before the death of Calvin. The records of the city of Geneva show that within the space of sixty years, part of which is included in the lifetime of Calvin, one hundred and fifty wretches were burned at the stake for witchcraft, and that torture was an incident of almost all criminal trials. It is contended that in Geneva there was created by Calvin "a model church-state, in which the morals, beliefs and energies of the people were held at the pitch of efficiency". But again the evidence of the municipal records shows that at no other period was the immorality of the city fouler or more deeply seated than it was in the years in which our author asserts that Calvin's "direction of affairs promoted the welfare of the town". We are informed that Calvinism had similar beneficial effects in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. For the correction of this belief one may perhaps be permitted to prescribe a large dose of Brooks Adams's *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*.

The purpose in pointing out these errors, and in taking issue with these opinions, has been to indicate that the entire treatment of the several revolts from Rome is distinctly unsatisfactory. It is not as fully informed as it should be, it is not always based upon accurate and courageous thought, and it is not inspired by a forward-looking spirit.

The attitude towards the liberal groups and individuals of the sixteenth century is deplorable. Our author speaks of the Anabaptists as "various anarchistic sects . . . who were for throwing down the social structure altogether, and agreed in little beyond denying the validity of infant baptism and demanding adult immersion for the full cleansing of sin". It would be difficult, indeed, more completely to misrepresent a set of people in as many words. There is no mention of Sebastian Castellio, the apostle of tolerance, or of such liberal leaders as Lelio Socini, Caspar Schwenkfeld, and Sebastian Franck, men whose winged thoughts and kindly deeds fell in the fiery atmosphere of the time with the gratefulness of summer rain. Why? "The world", our author answers, "was not interested in liberalism and tolerance." But for many years the patient and careful research of scholars has been revealing to us how wide-spread was liberalism at that time, and also, alas, how wide-spread and determined were the efforts of orthodoxy of all kinds to exterminate it. And once more we come upon inconsistency in thought. Giordano Bruno, we are told, with "an imagination, constructive, rational, and fearless", brought "to sharp expression the master tendencies of his epoch". How then can it be that "the world was not interested in liberalism"?

One other defect, and we shall conclude. The Catholic Reaction, or whatever title one may prefer to give that movement, is entirely omitted. And without an exposition of the salient features of that movement how is it possible successfully to claim for the book a complete survey of the thought of the sixteenth century? Nor is there any reference to life and thought in the Scandinavian and Slavic lands.

This is not the book on the Renaissance and the Reformation for which the world waits, the book that shall do justice to the free and aspiring thought of the time, to the liberalism that suffered persecution at the hands of retrospective orthodoxy, whether of the ancient communion or the new ones. But it has many useful chapters and numerous helpful passages. When our author leaves the theologians and deals with the poets and painters and philosophers we find, almost invariably, something of an ampler ether, a diviner air. He is interested in humanity. He is a critic of life; and, with all the shortcomings we have not hesitated to expose, sense and sensibility have both contributed to make him an unusually catholic critic.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

*La Pensée Italienne au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle et le Courant Libertin.* Par J.-ROGER CHARBONNEL, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1919. Pp. ix, A-UU, 720, lxxxiv. 20 fr.)

THE variety and multiplicity of Italian thought in the sixteenth century are well illustrated by this portly volume which deals with names and topics almost unknown to the general reader of works on the Italian

Renaissance. With the exception of some comparatively brief references to Ficino, Bembo, Castiglione, and Leo Hebraeus,<sup>4</sup> there is scarcely anything in this book relating to the cultivated society of the courts of Italy in the sixteenth century—Ferrara, Urbino, Mantua, and Milan. The author's object is not to portray social usages, or the revival of interest in classical literature and art, but to trace the growth of philosophic thought in Italy from Plato, Aristotle, and Lucretius, through the Arabian philosophers, and to show the influence of Italy on France and the connection between Italian free-thought of the sixteenth century and French "libertinage" of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

The plan of the extensive work is as follows. In the first chapter the fact of Italian influence is established by numerous extracts from French writers citing or judging Italian authors, chiefly Machiavelli. The philosophical material at the disposal of Italian thinkers of the end of the fifteenth century is examined in the second chapter; while the third deals with the Paduan school of thought, the expounders of Aristotle and Averroes, and their popularizers. The fourth chapter is devoted wholly to the social and political "positivisme" of Machiavelli. Italian thinkers whose labors and speculations prepared the way for the modern conception of the universe are studied in the fifth chapter, and the sixth and final chapter treats of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thinkers in France, England, and Germany, who continued the work of the Italian philosophers and were influenced by their speculations.

The names which bulk large in Charbonnel's work are, in Italy, Pomponazzi, Cremonini, Cardan, Vanini, Bruno, and Campanella; in France, Descartes, Bayle, Voltaire, and Fontenelle; in England, Bacon, Hobbes, and Berkeley; and in Germanic lands, Spinoza and Leibnitz. In the later reaction against free-thought Pascal and the German philosophers Jacobi, Schelling, and Hegel, are the prominent figures.

The story of the Italian thinkers is a tragic one. Two of them, Bruno and Vanini, met their death at the hands of the Inquisition, the former at Rome, the latter at Toulouse, and Campanella languished for twenty-seven years in a Neapolitan dungeon, for political reasons, it should be said.

This brief analysis gives little idea of the extraordinary richness of the materials collected by the author. He gives from his writers extensive extracts both in Italian and in Latin, "which", he says, "have seemed to us easily intelligible for a reader of average culture, who is anxious to control our statements". Some of these texts have been relegated to the appendix on account of their prolixity. The copious analyses and citations of the original sources enable even the reader to whom the field is new to follow the author and to verify his conclusions. A full bibliography and a sufficient index add to the value of a work which, on its scholarly side, leaves nothing to desire.

If it is permitted to criticize so masterly a work it would be in regard to its arrangement. The second chapter, the object of which is to establish the fact of Italian influence in France, seems too limited in its scope—dealing almost exclusively with Machiavelli—and might better have been incorporated in chapter IV., which is devoted wholly to that writer. Finally, it seems to the reviewer that the space devoted to this writer is, considering the general character of the philosophic thought discussed in the work, excessive. The social and political philosophy of Machiavelli, treated so extensively, seems somewhat out of harmony with the religious and moral character of the other Italian thinkers. The vitality and fascination of the Italian statesman are lasting; just the other day there appeared at Barcelona the first Catalan translation of *Il Principe*, by Señor Pin y Soler, in the introduction to which stress is laid, and rightly, we believe, on Machiavelli's humanism and patriotism. In this connection it is interesting to note the only reference to the Great War in Charbonnel's book. It occurs on p. 435, where Machiavelli's voice is said to echo still in certain pages of Nietzsche and Treitschke, "but with a more imperious tone and a more cynical arrogance".

T. F. CRANE.

*The Life of Sir John Leake, Rear-Admiral of Great Britain.* By STEPHEN MARTIN-LEAKE, Garter King of Arms. Edited by GEOFFREY CALLENDER. In two volumes. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vols. LII. and LIII.] (London: Navy Records Society. 1920. Pp. clxii, 333; x, 490. 42 sh.)

A STUDY of Admiral Leake's life will help to remove two current historical misconceptions; that England's naval supremacy was definitely and irrevocably established in 1588, and that she gained a vast empire in a "fit of absent-mindedness", for this biography shows that her navy passed through a most critical period under William III. and Anne, during which the acquisition of Gibraltar and Minorca were the result not of accident but of design. Under the Stuarts the navy declined, but it was not until after the destruction of the Smyrna fleet (1693) that William adopted a Mediterranean policy, the effect of which was scarcely visible until the next war, although Marlborough and the king were aware of its possibilities.

In accepting the will of the King of Spain (1700) Louis XIV. threatened England's commercial interests. If there were no longer any Pyrenees, France would monopolize the coveted Spanish-American trade. Moreover, she would control the littoral from Toulon almost to the Rhine mouth, and Antwerp might soon rival London. William wished to attack the Spanish colonies, but the Allies championed Archduke Charles's claims to Spain, which made the Mediterranean the main sphere for naval operations. Lisbon was impracticable as a naval base,

and Gibraltar, when captured, proved inadequate, although a strategic gain. Marlborough appreciated this and insisted on the capture of Minorca as a permanent base for annoying France. In executing these plans, Leake was particularly important. He was not only largely responsible for relieving Londonderry and pursuing the French at La Hogue, but for capturing both Gibraltar and Minorca. In each instance, as well as in saving Gibraltar, he was tactful and industrious, although his merits, like those of his colleague, Rooke, were then little appreciated.

Stephen Martin-Leake, son of Captain Stephen Martin, printed, in 1750, a life of his uncle, but the edition was limited to fifty-one copies, and has long been practically inaccessible. The Navy Records Society thus rendered historical students a service by editing this work with an introduction and explanatory notes. It supplements their recent editions of the life of Captain Martin, also by Martin-Leake, and Rooke's *Journal*. Of the three the life of Leake is the most important, raising the questions of Marlborough's influence and insight, Peterborough's achievements, and the honor of capturing Gibraltar, Barcelona, and Minorca. Martin-Leake insisted that his uncle was mainly instrumental in capturing these places, and that neither Rooke, Peterborough, nor Stanhope could take away his laurels. His account is obviously biased, but founded on abundant source-materials left by the admiral, much of which he printed. The treatment is marred by an ignorance of the technical side of naval affairs and by atrocious English.

New light is cast upon Queen Anne's relations with the Pretender and the pope. She became highly incensed because she was informed that the pope had assisted the Pretender's expedition against England, so she demanded a large indemnity on pain of bombarding Civit  Vecchia. Fortunately Leake's attack on Minorca prevented his executing the threat. Finally, it is strikingly evident that the navy's activity as a fighting machine was greatly limited by the necessity of furnishing convoys for merchantmen.

Mr. Callender of the Royal Naval College at Osborne, and the author of several able books and articles on naval affairs, has written a valuable introduction, although he displays a great deal of passion and prolixity, which does not characterize his earlier works. In turn, he berates Admiral Churchill, who probably deserved it; his brother, Marlborough, who has been all too much reviled already; Stanhope, and above all, Peterborough. All merit harsh criticism, but it would have been more efficacious, if less heated and sarcastic.

WILLIAM T. MORGAN.

*Les Id es Politiques en France au XVIII  Si cle.* Par HENRI S E.  
(Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1920. Pp. 264. 12 fr.)

"THE work of the political writers of the eighteenth century, as a whole," writes M. S e, "consisted essentially in the destruction of the



conception of absolute authority, in the elaboration of the principle of the rights of man, in the proclamation of the emancipation of human personality"; his volume is a demonstration of this thesis. The survey begins with the latter days of Louis XIV., with the writings of Fénelon and Saint-Simon, and ends with the brochures of 1788 and 1789. The influence of English literature and English institutions on French thought, the views of d'Argenson, Montesquieu, and Voltaire—the liberal school of the first half of the century—the ideas of Rousseau, of Diderot, of Helvetius, and d'Holbach, in the second half, and of Mably and Condorcet, at the end of the century, all these are passed in rapid review, the exposition of their ideas strengthened by a wealth of well-chosen extracts from their writings. A short chapter is also devoted to the Physiocrats. From the beginning to the end of the century there is a pronounced hostility to despotic government and privilege, and toward the end a marked growth of republican sentiment, strongly influenced by the American Revolution. Here, for the first time, the ideas of the philosophers had abandoned the domain of speculation and had been applied to reality. "It was, then, natural that they should acquire in the land of their origin a much greater power of propaganda." On reading the brochures of 1789, it is noteworthy that nothing is left of the old absolutist conception of the state; the ideas of the philosophers have prevailed. "The state no longer represents the king, but the nation." Montesquieu and English institutions were less in favor than they had been in the first half of the century; the idea of the separation of the powers of government had displaced the English idea of checks. Democratic doctrine had made great progress and the influence of Rousseau was very marked at the outbreak of the revolution. "One was preoccupied less with creating a constitutional monarchy than with establishing a régime that would permit the nation to manifest its will and to exercise its rights. The principle of national sovereignty began to dominate men's minds. . . . If the men of '89 were not the servile disciples of the thinkers of the eighteenth century, if they showed themselves above all things occupied with present circumstances, they were, none the less, imbued with the philosophical doctrines. . . . One may not say," concludes M. Sée, "that the ideas of the eighteenth century directly provoked the French Revolution, but they acted powerfully upon the mind of the generation that accomplished the greatest transformation known to history."

The value of M. Sée's volume is not found in the presentation of fresh information concerning the writers passed in review, or concerning the influence of England and America on France. The novelty of his work is found in the synthesis, and even the connoisseurs of the period may read it with profit, because of the skilful manner in which he groups the political criticism of the age, shows its chief characteristics and changes, and relates it all to the literature of 1789. The book

is not the work of a novice. M. Sée has to his credit valuable studies on Diderot, Fénelon, Voltaire, and Saint-Simon, the first dating back to 1897. The volume will be extremely valuable to one wishing to be *orientiert* on the eighteenth century and very suggestive in the way of topics for further investigation, such as the influence of the American Revolution on French thought and the influence of the ideas of the eighteenth-century writers on the brochures of 1788 and 1789, subjects that were simply touched upon by M. Sée.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*Dupleix et l'Inde Française, 1722-1741.* Par ALFRED MARTINEAU, Ancien Gouverneur des Établissements Français dans l'Inde. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1920. Pp. xi, 534.)

THERE has been for some time a growing interest in the life of Dupleix and a rapidly increasing knowledge of the subject. Until about 1880 the information regarding that great figure of eighteenth-century colonial history was relatively scanty and derived in large part from his opponents the English. Aside from the life of Cultru, the decade 1881-1891, however, saw the appearance of no less than five works concerning him: Hamont's *Dupleix d'après sa Correspondance Inédite*, Castonnet's two volumes on his "expeditions and his projects" and on his fall, Dehaisnes's *Notes Biographiques et Historiques*, and Malleson's well-known *Life in the Rulers of India* series. Thereafter there was a long period of relative silence, broken only by Guenin's *Dupleix*, in 1908, the Marquis de Nozelle's monograph on Dupleix's defense of Pondicherry (1909), and the subsidiary volumes of the memoirs of Dupleix's native secretary or factor (*dubash*) Ananda Ranga Pillai, "the Indian Pepys", a too little known work of great interest. Now suddenly and almost simultaneously appear two considerable works, Mr. Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive*, in English, and M. Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Française, 1722-1741*.

Of these the latter is at once more extensive—for this is but the first of three volumes promised—and the most informative, if not the most scholarly, which has yet appeared. As the work of the director of the ministry of the colonies, and former governor of the French establishments in India, it commands special attention, not only from the unusual qualifications of its author to treat such a subject, but from his unusual opportunities for securing material for such a work. The idea of writing this book, he tells us, came to him during a visit to Pondicherry, and though he disclaims any ambition to produce a study "définitive et sans appel", it is apparent that if his design is carried to completion, as we may venture to hope it will be, it will provide certainly the most comprehensive and minute account of the great French empire-builder which has yet appeared.

The present volume covers the little known period from Dupleix's

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birth to his accession as governor in 1742. In its composition the author has utilized the six volumes of Dupleix correspondence in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Arsenal, the letters between the superior council in Pondicherry and the council of Chandernagore, both in manuscript, with much like first-hand material published and unpublished—though, oddly enough, so far as the present reviewer has been able to note, Pillai's diary seems to have escaped his attention or at least his reference. That material he has woven into a narrative, interspersed with letters, reports, and documents of various kinds, introduced by an account of India and the Company before 1725 and followed by various appendixes. His chapters cover the "origins" of Dupleix and his life to his nomination for a post at Chandernagore, an account of that factory and its relationships, his private affairs, European commerce with India, Indian commerce, the "comptoirs", the "affair of the rupees", the "affair of the Jesuits", and the volume ends with his marriage. It need scarcely be said, in view of this table of contents, that the present volume contains a mass of information, of wide range and great importance. The information is, indeed, so great that it will probably not be easy for a reader unacquainted with the story in its various ramifications to follow the thread of Dupleix himself amid his various interests and his far-reaching relations. Yet the story is there, and in this great warehouse of facts it is evident that we have not merely a life of Dupleix but a fund of information regarding the India of his day which will throw new light upon the whole episode of Anglo-French relations if, as seems probable, the two succeeding volumes bear out the promise of the first. And for that we cannot be too grateful.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*The Early English Cotton Industry, with some Unpublished Letters of Samuel Crompton.* By GEORGE W. DANIELS, M.A., Senior Lecturer in Economics in the University of Manchester, with an Introductory Chapter by GEORGE UNWIN, M.A., Professor of Economic History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xxxi, 214. 8 s. 6d.)

MR. DANIELS in this little book has added somewhat to our knowledge of the beginnings of the English cotton manufacture as that history has come down to us through the writings of Baines, Guest, Radcliffe, Chapman, and others. Such new information as he furnishes comes mainly through his use of recently discovered account-books and letter-books of a large Manchester firm whose origin dates from the eighteenth century. The records of this firm which have been utilized by the author cover the years 1795 to 1835, and among its correspondence are some original letters of Samuel Crompton which relate to his invention

of the spinning-frame known to this day as the "mule". Mr. Daniels has published these letters as one chapter of his book.

The more important points presented by the author are probably the following: (1) The cotton industry had been organized on a capitalistic basis long before it had passed into the factory stage. (2) The manufacture of goods composed, at least in part, of cotton dates back to at least the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was most probably introduced into England by the Flemish immigrants who settled in Lancashire in the latter half of the sixteenth century. (3) Contrary to the usual statements, the manufacture of all-cotton goods had begun in England before the introduction of machinery. (4) While the industry was still in the domestic stage, the spinners and weavers were not, as has generally been supposed, independent producers, nor were most of them, Mr. Daniels believes, engaged part of their time in agriculture, but were cottagers who carried on no other activities and were financed by master clothiers who gave out the work and paid the worker for his work when the product was returned to them. (5) The workers in some branches of the cotton manufacture were organized into trade unions at least as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. Such a combination was dealt with by Lord Mansfield in 1759. (6) The change from the domestic to the factory system in the cotton manufacture called for no great change in the economic relationship of the employing and the employed classes. (7) The anti-machine riots of the latter part of the eighteenth century, which led to the destruction of the Hargreaves and Arkwright spinning machines, were not due to the effects of the introduction of the machines upon the position of the operatives, although the operatives thought their distress was caused by the machines. It was, in reality, caused by the wars and the hampering of trade expansion which resulted. (8) From the very beginning of the cotton manufacture, "a continuous development can be traced in all directions. Even the inventions of the jenny and the water-frame, when viewed in their right relations, are seen as the outcome of efforts extending over more than thirty years preceding their appearance, and come as something expected, rather than as something sudden and unique" (p. 145). (9) The opposition to the patents granted to Hargreaves and Arkwright came from men who wished to use the machines without complying with the rights which the patents conferred. Crompton's mule was not patented and its inventor never received adequate remuneration for his services, but, owing to his lack of business ability, he probably would not have benefitted much by any sum of money granted him in any other form than that of a pension.

Professor Unwin's introduction traces the relations between the Lancashire cotton industry and the development of the textile industries in Europe during medieval and early modern times.

M. B. HAMMOND.

*Der Preussische Verfassungskampf vor Hundert Jahren.* Von Dr. PAUL HAAKE, Professor an der Universität Berlin. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1921. Pp. vii, 126. M. 12.)

THE publication of this monograph is worth comment irrespective of its real merits. It appears in a series similar to the prize essays of our own Historical Association but at the risk of a private publisher. Is there any other land so economically exhausted where a publisher would continue to put out such historical monographs? The second point is that the author has thought it timely to make a synthesis of his previous special studies of an historical period in which consistent effort and popular demand brought Prussia to the verge of popular representation and modern political institutions.

For the period covered (1806-1823) and the theme chosen, the rise and fall of the idea of a central representative legislature for all Prussia, it is the best survey in print. This excellence arises from the inclusion of the neglected eight years from 1815 to 1823. For the earlier period it owes much in interpretation and treatment to Meinecke, whose brilliant and suggestive survey is nowhere reached by Professor Haake's heavy style. His selection of essential facts is excellent throughout.

The struggle for a constitution, chiefly a national assembly, is divided into three periods—is there anything the historical mind doesn't divide by three? The first period closes with the fall of Stein in November, 1808, and the passing of Frederick William III.'s momentary and unreal acquiescence in a plan for national representation. The second phase, which, as a period, is a subjective product of the author's mind and is really a part of the first, runs through the Wars of Liberation. The battle seems to him to have a more extended front and to exhibit definite groups, comparable to real parties.

The third and last phase includes the years 1815 to 1823 and ends in the decision to recall or establish eight provincial diets along old lines. This was a defeat for Hardenberg and the liberals, and attested the dominance of the feudal party over any attempt to modernize the political central government of Prussia. It is in the survey of this third period that the author makes his real contribution.

The key to the whole situation was Frederick William III. The author is clear on this, and it is refreshing to have this narrow-minded, timid, and essentially reactionary sovereign characterized without any of the restraint that even his most hostile German critics have hitherto exercised. Given such a sovereign with full power to grant or withhold a charter, and the outcome of any movement for liberalism was foredoomed. Only as dire necessity grasped him by the throat could any reformer, whether his name were Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, Boyen, or Humboldt extract a reluctant consent from Frederick William III. Even his subordination to Alexander I. during the latter's lustrum of liberalism was unnatural. It is not difficult for the author to show

that all hope of a real representative body for Prussia was dead before the Teplitz conference in 1819.

Nevertheless the author, who is a defender of Hardenberg, makes the battle between the chancellor and the reactionaries led by Ancillon, Karl of Mecklenburg, Marwitz, Wittgenstein, Albrecht, and Knessebeck seem a very real one, in which Humboldt, who had much the same aims as Hardenberg, really gave the Brutus stab.

In the failure of Frederick William III. to follow the modestly liberal policy of Hardenberg after 1815, and by such timely concessions to set the feet of the Hohenzollern monarchy on the path to modern government, Professor Haake finds the answer to the question as to why the Hohenzollerns no longer rule. Possibly; but without offering a defense of Frederick William III., there is much before and after him that goes to the explanation of such a downfall.

G. S. FORD.

*A History of the Chartist Movement.* By JULIUS WEST, with an Introductory Memoir by J. C. SQUIRE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 316. \$4.00.)

THE most valuable contribution of this book to historical literature is that it indicates a state of mind. Studies in the early origins of labor or working-class movements are, at the present time, as fashionable in certain circles as were researches in early Christian lore some few decades ago. The last ten years have witnessed the publication of no less than seven scholarly studies on Chartism, one in German, one in French, and five in English. Of this book it may be said that its principal differentiation from the earlier volumes lies in this fact: it attaches to this abortive protest and muddle-headed revolt even more significance than do its predecessors.

To the late Mr. West, Chartism "made possible (indirectly) the renascent trade-union movement of the fifties, the gradually improving condition of the working classes, the Labour Party, the co-operative movement and whatever greater triumphs labour will enjoy in the future". In consequence, to him, the roster of the names of delegates at the Chartist Convention becomes by implication as important as that of the signers of the Constitution of the United States, and the minutiae of the agricultural experiments of Feargus O'Connor take on as much interest as the diplomacy of the Congress of Vienna.

The reviewer has no right to quarrel with this point of view. He may, however, call attention to this fact: Chartism as a subject for historical research has been overworked. The three doctoral dissertations of Columbia University in 1916, and Hovell's *Chartism*, published in 1918, have covered this particular field fairly well, and he to whom political and industrial democracy still disclose the path toward the Golden Age might well turn his attention to many of the other phases of the labor movement as yet but partially studied.



It is an unfortunate fact that Mr. West was in ignorance of the superb history of Chartism about to be completed by Mr. Hovell until his own book was nearly finished. Had he known of the work of his fellow historian, so abruptly terminated by death in the service of his country, he would doubtless have pursued his researches in a somewhat different direction, much to the enrichment of scholarship and to the furthering of a more complete understanding of industrial and social history. A clearing house for historical scholarship along the lines attempted by M. Solvay of Brussels is most urgently needed if mistakes of this character are to be prevented in the future.

*A History of the Chartist Movement* approaches its subject with a view at once broader and at the same time, to the mind of the reviewer, less sound than the approach of Lieutenant Hovell. Mr. West's introductory emphasis is political, that of his fellow historian economic; he begins his history in 1776 with an account of the agitation for parliamentary reform headed by Major Cartwright. Chartism to him is but one phase, possibly the culminating one, of the radicalism of the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, and he skilfully orientates it as such. This, I believe, is largely an illusion. Mr. Roebuck and Major Cartwright were neither socially nor intellectually in the same strata with O'Connor and O'Brien. Their motivation was essentially middle-class, even if they did hold radical views *in re* suffrage reform; and the nexus between Chartism and the new economics, as emphasized by Mr. Hovell, was far closer than that between it and philosophic radicalism.

Both Mr. Hovell and Mr. West have toiled arduously and to good purpose through the great Place manuscript collection in the British Museum. For the convenience of other British historians who contemplate that task it is well to note that the London collection is incomplete, several volumes of the Place collection being in the private library of Professor E. R. A. Seligman of New York. Mr. West has also added still further to our knowledge of the career of Richard Oastler as a Chartist agitator, and admirers of the fearless yet childlike and misguided friend of the English factory children are in his debt for so doing. It is to be hoped that some day a biography of Oastler may appear, and there still remain for the historian, untouched and apparently unknown, in an obscure corner of the British Museum, the incomplete files of his little magazine *The Throne, the Altar, and the Cottage*. Oastler was a Chartist, it is true; but Chartism, I think, may more justly be considered as a side-eddy of the larger and more catholic interests which he and his friends held at heart than as the centre and heart of the tide moving toward social justice and a genuine democracy.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.



*The English Reform Bill of 1867.* By JOSEPH H. PARK, Ph.D.  
[Columbia University Studies, vol. XCIII., no. 1.] (New York:  
Longmans, Green and Company. 1920. Pp. 285. \$3.00.)

DR. PARK has chosen as the subject of his monograph one of the distinctly dramatic moments in the constitutional history of England, when in Robert Lowe's phrase "the bag of the winds was untied", and in Carlyle's, England "shot Niagara". But the dramatic possibilities of the story are here studiously ignored. Many extracts from speeches are quoted, but none that are even tinged with purple, not even Gladstone's famous "You cannot fight against the future" peroration. The author has chosen rather to set forth the facts soberly, clearly, and accurately, and this he has done well, so well that the book is not only informing but interesting in spite of its deliberate restraint.

The main points of the story of Gladstone's failure of 1866 and of Disraeli's triumph of 1867 have been already told, notably by Monypenny and Buckle in the fourth volume of their recent life of Disraeli. But Dr. Park's study undoubtedly gives us a richer and safer store of information by which we may satisfy ourselves as to the great issues of the Bill. Did the events of the sixties in Italy and America hasten the concession of votes to the working-classes in England and make that concession inevitable? Were events and forces in England moving towards such a consummation regardless of democratic successes elsewhere? Was the Bill only the outcome of party battles, the jousts of politicians playing for power, or were there fundamental reasons why it should come in 1867? Should we give Disraeli the credit for it, or were Gladstone and John Bright the real authors? Was it a conscious step towards democracy?

These questions indicate the plan of the book. They are not always answered in any final way, for an absolute answer is not always possible. The chapters on the working-classes in the sixties and on the popular attitude towards reform illustrate admirably the familiar generalization that not distress alone but distress following prosperity means a storm, and show very clearly why parliamentary reform was regarded with indifference in the early sixties, with passionate insistence in 1867. Though the author quotes with apparent approval Morley's statement that "the Italian revolution of 1860 gave new vitality to the popular side in England" and Trevelyan's that "if democracy triumphed in America, nothing could long delay its advent over here", he gives ample reason for believing that the real causes for the extension of the franchise must be sought in Britain and in Britain alone. And whatever partisans might charge at the time, no one, with this book before him, is likely now to assert that the measure was one of pure party expediency, brought in and carried in order to "dish the Whigs". Equally convincing is Dr. Park's argument for Disraeli's consistency. No one, perhaps, who had read *Coningsby* and *Sybil* needed any argu-

ment, but on the face of it the great Jew's opposition to Gladstone's bill of 1866 and his advocacy of a more radical reform only a year later has seemed to many pure political opportunism, and those who hold such a view will find interest and profit in this admirable analysis of the facts in the case.

We have therefore no criticism of the book to offer. It is not epoch-making; it does not propose any novel point of view or conclusion; it makes no pretence to originality or eloquence. But it is a careful, workmanlike narrative of a great moment in the history of modern democracy, and we are glad to have it.

CECIL FAIRFIELD LAVELL.

*Bismarck's Auswärtige Politik nach der Reichsgründung.* Von HANS PLEHN. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1920. Pp. xii, 381. M. 32.)

THE special study here undertaken has wanted doing, increasingly, for the past ten years. The amount of widely scattered material bearing on the subject has increased beyond the scope of the two or three chapters devoted to it in the usual biography of Bismarck or more general history of the period; the problems involved require treatment at close range and in some detail. Plehn's point of view is far from that of an unprejudiced observer. The son of an East Prussian landlord, for some years a functionary of the Agrarian League, finally a suicide following the German Revolution—the influence of his own political convictions is only too evident in his estimate of Bismarck's work. The writer's last years before the war were spent as a newspaper correspondent in London; and his *Deutsche Weltpolitik und kein Krieg*, published anonymously in 1913, advocated the abandonment of Germany's forward policy in the Near East in favor of co-operation with Great Britain in Africa. The reaction of these associations and opinions upon his treatment of Bismarck's policy is also evident enough. His familiarity with English sources is especially marked. It is worthy of note, however, that no trace is to be found in this book of the theory developed since the writer's death, that an English alliance was one of the primary objects of Bismarck's diplomacy. The *Daily Telegraph* article in 1912, relating the approaches of 1878 and 1887, seems to have escaped his notice.

Bismarck's policy is interpreted, throughout, along the traditional lines marked out by the Chancellor himself. His complete disinterestedness in the Eastern Question and his impartial fairness to Russia and Austria are reasserted without qualification. No attempt is made to reconcile this theory of motives with the admission (p. 136) that Bismarck used all his efforts to isolate Russia at the Congress of Berlin, while cultivating support for Austria, and the statement (p. 302), regarding the combination which checked Russia in 1887, that "Bismarck

hat dieser Entente . . . wohl Geburtshilfe geleistet". Bismarck's policy toward France is treated as purely and consistently one of an alert defensive; and the wrong side of his frequently contradictory remarks concerning "preventive wars" is simply ignored. The War Scare of 1875 reappears as a groundless conspiracy against the Chancellor—an appearance kept up by pulling several events out of their temporal context. Through similar treatment the crisis of January and February, 1887, is dispersed into thin air. The latter years are treated in general too slightly in proportion to the scope of the book and the amount of material available; while the guiding thread of Bismarck's own policy is often lost in the discussion of other factors in the situation.

Many of the book's defects are common to all works on the subject completed before the important revelations of the last two years. There are a few omissions of earlier sources of information, which need not be enumerated, as the present importance of the chief of them has been greatly reduced by Pribram's authoritative work on the secret treaties of Austria-Hungary. The Russian side of things is remarkably well brought out, considering the fact that no sources in the Russian language have been employed. Despite its inconclusiveness, Plehn's book commands attention as a well-ordered synthesis of scattering materials on the largest scale yet attempted. The employment of recent disclosures in support of orthodox interpretations is not the least interesting feature of the work. Many such special studies, approached from many angles and incorporating the new material as it appears, will be necessary before a mature and balanced statement of the case can be evolved.

J. V. FULLER.

*Lebenserinnerungen und Politische Denkwürdigkeiten.* Von Botschaftsrat a. D. HERMANN Freiherrn v. ECKARDSTEIN. In two volumes. (Leipzig: Paul List. 1919. Pp. 324; 440. M. 34.)

IN Germany during and since the World War there has been much searching of hearts as well as searching of records to determine the causes of her unpopularity among the nations and the reasons why so many of them ended by combining against her. There has naturally been wide divergence of opinion. The first impulse has been the usual one, to condemn the statesmen and diplomats who have been responsible for the foreign policy their country has pursued. But here a line must be drawn; it is still not the fashion to question the wisdom and skill of Bismarck. The errors of the ways of Germany are taken as beginning with about the year 1890, even if it is admitted that Bismarck's policy of balancing between Russia and England was too complicated to be kept up indefinitely by anyone but a genius like himself. But whose fault was it that Russia and France came together, and at a later date France and England, and then, most astonishing of all, England and

Russia, whereas Germany at the hour of trial was deserted by her allies. Italy and Rumania? Some of these things were perhaps inevitable but surely not all.

When we come to the question of just what blunders were committed, we find in the main two schools of opinion. There are those who believe with Reventlow and Tirpitz that the worst mistakes the statesmen of the German Empire made were their failure in 1890 to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia, and their inability to perceive that the real rival of the future was England. The only sound policy was the one which Prussia had followed throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, that of intimate relations with her eastern neighbor, with whom she had much in common and no really conflicting interests. All that was needed was conciliation as well as firmness and a friendly attitude towards Russia in questions that did not affect Germany. Friendship with England, on the other hand, besides estranging Russia, was a delusion and a snare in itself, owing to the jealousy of German progress felt by the British and to their determination to brook no equal on the sea.

Another school of German writers take what we might call the Lichnowsky point of view, which is exactly the opposite of the above. They maintain that Russia was the inevitable foe and menace to Germany but that Great Britain was the obvious and proper friend. They say that there was no fundamental cause for difficulties between the two and that most of those which actually occurred were the fault of German policy. Baron von Eckardstein is a champion of this school, in truth his work has furnished a whole arsenal of weapons for those who support it. Whether one agrees with his thesis or not, the information he offers is both interesting and important.

Eckardstein's first volume is devoted to his early experiences in the army and in the diplomatic service. These are entertaining though not extraordinary, and some of the anecdotes have value. The notable part of his book begins with his transfer to the German embassy in London. During a twelve years' stay in England he was in a position to see and hear a great deal of what went on behind the scenes, especially when, owing to the prolonged ill health of his chief, Count Hatzfeldt, he was practically in charge of the embassy, even if one sometimes suspects this was a little less often than he would like us to think. He was also in close correspondence with Holstein, with whom he fell out only toward the end of his own career. In addition, he seems to have been at home in the highest English political and fashionable society, indeed he married an English woman. He was thus in a position to be well informed and we now get the results of his information, including several original documents. They must be painful reading for any German, if for no other reason from the circumstance that while Eckardstein continually defends and praises the British statesmen with whom he had to deal, he has few good words for the foreign policy of his own

country and for the men who conducted it. In particular the emperor and Holstein come in for savage and repeated criticism. Eckardstein's whole tone is that of a public servant disappointed and embittered by failure, who believes that his country has been ruined by the blind folly of those who shaped its destinies.

But however much we may question the fairness of his views and justly accuse him of not taking into account all the difficulties of the situation, there is no denying that the facts he gives us are important, not to say startling, though some of them need controlling from other sources.<sup>1</sup> His main thesis is that whereas Bismarck several times, notably in 1878 and in 1887, made direct overtures to England for an alliance and was unable to bring one about, it was England at a later date that was anxious for the alliance and according to Eckardstein, in 1895, 1898, 1899, and repeatedly in 1901, suggested a treaty of the sort, and it was Germany that then refused to give ear. Much of what he has to tell in this connection is totally new or has only been recently suspected even by students. One of the most amazing tales is the proposal of Lord Salisbury in 1895 that the Ottoman Empire should be divided between England, Germany, and Austria. The history of the later English offers is also full of interest. Had they been accepted it might have changed the fate of Germany and of the world. We note among other things the eagerness of the British government as late as the autumn of 1901 to sign an agreement to check the designs of France on Morocco. But the Wilhelmstrasse believed that what the English wanted was for Germany to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them, in Africa as regarded the French, and in Asia as regarded the Russians. It did not believe that an entente between England and either France or Russia was within the bounds of practical possibility. Holstein was emphatic on this point. We can now understand better than ever before the wrath and discomfiture of the German Foreign Office when in 1904 France and England did come together and England handed over to France this self-same Morocco which a couple of years earlier she had been so anxious to keep her out of. The German reply was the visit of the emperor to Tangier and the Morocco crisis, but by this time Eckardstein had resigned in disgust his position in London and had returned to his own country. His book, which has already given rise to lively controversy, will long be referred to as an authority on the momentous events of which it treats.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

*Fünfzig Jahre Reichsdienst: Lebenserinnerungen.* Von OTTMAR VON MOHL, Preussischem Kammerherrn und Wirklichem Geheimen Rat. (Leipzig: Paul List. 1920. Pp. 318. M. 30, bound.)

GERMAN bureaucracy could hardly produce a better exponent than

<sup>1</sup> In certain cases this has already happened. Cf. review of Hammann's first two volumes in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1920 (XXV. 718-719).

the modest and dignified author of this book. Von Mohl's half-century of experience was varied and characteristic, if not of great political or diplomatic importance. He claims to have been the first South German to enter the "Reichsdienst". Well connected in the intellectual and political circles of Baden, he began his service in the diplomatic corps of the North German Confederation, at Munich, just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war. From 1871 until 1873 he was in the imperial consular service, first at New York and then for a few months at Singapore. Thence he was called to Berlin to receive appointment as a private secretary of the Empress Augusta. Six years of intimate contact with court life provided interest but no prospects for a career, so von Mohl re-entered the consular service and was stationed at Cincinnati from 1879 to 1885, and at Petersburg until 1887. From Russia he went to Tokio, where he assisted in the reorganization of the imperial Japanese household. Returning to Berlin in 1889, he served in one of the personnel bureaus of the Foreign Office, which he left to assume his last station (1897-1914) in Cairo as member of the Egyptian National Debt Commission.

Aside from the picturesqueness of these different scenes and the occasional intimacy with the "great" which they afford, von Mohl has related very little of importance. An endless succession of comings and goings of notables and their gatherings for the celebration of birthdays and other historic anniversaries comprises the bulk of the book. The presentation, as the author states in his brief preface, is that of a journal or enlarged diary consecrated to the glorious days of William I. Devoted to the memory of this period in which he faithfully and discreetly performed his duty, von Mohl rarely ventures into comment or criticism—a pattern of bureaucratic loyalty. Such digressions as he vouchsafes are free, on the whole, from the influence of war-bitterness. His memories of America are charitable, although he does mention the contrast between the genial Yale student, a neighbor of Ohio days, and the present German-hating (*sic*) Mr. Taft. And in lamenting the dispersion of the art treasures of the Hermitage, he notes that, through the hands of Jewish middlemen, they may soon be seen in the Metropolitan Museum. Sadly, also, he contrasts the little, old, Hanoverian widow whom he visited with the Empress Augusta at Windsor, with her descendants who have forsaken her very name.

Perhaps the most illuminating portion of the book is his account of his Japanese service, which he has described more fully in another book, *Am Japanischen Hofe* (Berlin, 1904). He ventures the opinion that Germany's influence, carefully and very successfully developed in Japan until 1894, was utterly destroyed in a day by the rashness of the "new course" of William II. It is obvious, in fact, that despite the cordiality with which the last of Hohenzollern monarchs received von Mohl on his return from the Far East, the latter was not captivated. His book concludes, indeed, with the reflection that the downfall of the empire is due



to the emperor's unnecessary rashness, his aggressiveness, and his ambition to play the *arbiter mundi*. It is possible that von Mohl derives some comfort in accounting for William's false course from the thought that it was England, her greatness, her sea-power—nay, even her princess—who inspired the imagination of the young kaiser.

LAURENCE BRADFORD PACKARD.

*Dalmatia and the Yugoslav Movement.* By Count LOUIS VOINOVITCH, with a Preface by Sir ARTHUR EVANS, LL.D., F.R.S. With Ethnographical Map. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. 320. \$3.00.)

THIS book, by the hand of a native Dalmatian, was written singly and solely to the end of proving that for upwards of a thousand years Dalmatia has been essentially and overwhelmingly a land of Slavs. So convincingly does the author conduct his argument that the reader finds himself wondering how the thesis of the Italian nationalists to the effect that the eastern shore of the Adriatic is integral soil of Italy ever succeeded in winning adherents. And truth to say it has, even in Italy, never had the support of others than the Hotspurs of imperialism, camouflaged as sorrowing or indignant irredentists, and even these swear by the untenable doctrine only because like all victims of the imperialist dementia they live on a diet of delusions. Coolly and objectively considered the Italian claim, such as it is, rests on two historical incidents. The first is the Roman conquest which, effected in the days of Augustus, was some six hundred years later, in the period of the Great Migrations, reduced to an indistinguishable dust-heap, stirred now and again by a vague memory. The migrations brought the Slavs to the Adriatic coast and gave Dalmatia the racial character which it has retained to this day. A second penetration of the coast with Italic influences occurred when Venice rose to greatness. But though this republic of merchant oligarchs maintained a political control over Dalmatia for about four centuries and conferred many indubitable cultural benefits on the inhabitants, it neither made nor did it so much as try to make them over inwardly or outwardly into Italians. When in 1797 Venice, obedient to the command of Bonaparte, ceased to be, again much as in the case of Rome, there was left, after a brief space, no other reminder of Venetian supremacy than a handful of splendid monuments together with a few rich and tender memories. With these memories some fifteen to twenty thousand Dalmatians, who largely as officials had been in intimate contact with the Venetian overlords, became so thoroughly identified that even after Venetian rule had disappeared, they continued to cultivate Italian speech and came quite naturally in the course of time to look upon themselves as sons of the Italian mother. Constituting no more than three per cent. of the total population, these converted Italians present the only palpable basis of an Italian nationalist claim. At no



time, it is interesting to note, did a stream of Italian immigration set toward the eastern coast. The much contested Fiume, as not technically included in Dalmatia, is not considered in this book.

That the author is a controversialist, given at times to excessive and indefensible emphasis, is sufficiently comprehensible in view of the fact that he is engaged in defending his home-land against what seems to him a brazen plan of conquest. In the main, however, he appeals to history, unfolding a picture of the racial and political vicissitudes of Dalmatia since the days of the Illyrians. More than half of his material is devoted to the nationalist movement of the nineteenth century, during which time Dalmatia was a province under Hapsburg rule and came into its Jugo-Slav consciousness. This is the most important part of the volume, since the earlier phases of Dalmatian history, often significant and always picturesque, are treated too superficially to have justice done them.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

*Italy and the Jugoslavs.* By EDWARD JAMES WOODHOUSE, of the Department of History and Government in Smith College, and CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE, of the Department of Economics and Sociology in Smith College. (Boston: Richard G. Badger. 1920. Pp. 394. \$3.00.)

LAUDABLE as the intention of the authors is "to improve the quality of American thinking on international questions and especially on the Adriatic problem", it is to be feared that their success will not prove startling and that their failure to win the attention which their cause deserves will not be due solely to the fact that the American public, as all signs indicate, has committed itself to a total suspension of thought on any and all matters lying beyond its immediate dooryard. Although elaborated, as must be frankly conceded, with much painstaking care from published treaties, ministerial speeches, editorial opinion, and war propaganda, the book lacks the large pattern which a reader with a sense of unity demands, and which besides supplies convincing evidence of a writer's complete mastery of his material. In so far as there is manifested in this volume anything resembling a governing principle, it is the idea of nationalism; and it is from the summit of this idea that the Adriatic situation, over which two hostile nationalisms have come to grips, is examined with, on the whole, a notable detachment and a praiseworthy effort to yield the floor in turn to the chosen spokesmen of both Italy and Jugo-Slavia. If at the close of the debate the reader is left with the distinct impression that the Italians have high-handedly attempted to profiteer from the victory of the allies and that Jugo-Slavia has by far the better cause and has maintained it also with greater moderation, he is shrewdly made to feel that the conclusion is his own rather than the authors', and that in substance it is no more than a

logical deduction from the facts. However, the question must be raised if it is historically permissible to examine the Adriatic problem from the single angle of the nationalist friction between Italians and South Slavs. Very evidently the Adriatic has tremendous implications for all central and southeastern Europe, and though some of these are broached, rather accidentally than by design, on more than one occasion, it is indubitable that if the historian desires to view the Adriatic in its deep and significant perspective, he must resolutely rise above the rancors of a cantankerous nationalist debate. In this failure to be just to the full European scope of the problem lies the main defect of the book. To be sure, the authors disclose themselves as internationalists, of the type of President Wilson, but none the less they seem to hope from the application of nationalism pure and simple a peaceful and equitable settlement of Europe. If such a delusion was, while the war lasted, as intelligible as it was universal, it no longer possesses the slightest justification in the light of the economic paralysis and moral disintegration which have attended the nationalist rearrangement of vast sections of central and eastern Europe. Though a force of grave import which no state will ignore except at its peril, nationalism is no panacea. Again, however, let it be said that, considered solely as the presentation of a narrow nationalist issue between neighbors, the book is rich in information judiciously organized. The treaty of London of April, 1915, cast for the rôle of villain, slips darkly in and out of the pages, and in order that we may judge for ourselves of the evil bred in its bone, we get it at last *in toto* by way of appendix. Added thereto and hardly less welcome because affording a glimpse of that amazing phenomenon, the official mind, are the memoranda with which the South Slavs and Italians attempted to justify their respective claims before the Peace Conference.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

*The Evolution of Sinn Fein.* By R. M. HENRY, M.A., Queen's University, Belfast. (New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1920. Pp. 318. \$2.00.)

UNTIL recently there was not available for the general reader much information about Sinn Fein. Down to the time of the Dublin Rebellion in 1916 the various year-books and encyclopedias either made no mention of it or passed it by with the merest allusion. Actually the movement had attracted little attention outside of certain circles in Ireland, and students striving now to investigate its earlier history will not find much about it in the more important contemporary publications of the British Isles. It was only after the events of the Easter Rebellion and the attempted establishment of an Irish republic that books about Sinn Fein began to appear. The scholarly studies of Wells and Marlowe (1917-1918) and the reviewer's *Ireland and England* (1919) contained

something. There was a detailed brief account in H. M. Pim's article in the *Nineteenth Century* (1919), and in the same year appeared P. S. O'Hogarty's *Sinn Fein*. Now comes Professor Henry's volume, which, while it leaves not a little to be desired, is the best thing so far on the subject.

The volume treats briefly of the general background of Irish history, Irish nationalism, Sinn Fein as the manifestation of Irish nationalism at present, the early years and development of Sinn Fein, its connection with Irish republicanism—much the best and most original part of the book—its connection with the Volunteer Movement, also excellent, its relations with the Ulster Unionists, and with the Nationalist movement for Home Rule which was led by the late John Redmond, the development and influence of Sinn Fein from the beginning of the Great War to the Rebellion in 1916, and its immensely increased power and swift rise to predominance since then. The book is pleasantly written, but the writing has neither power nor distinction. This American edition is well printed. The book has no index.

This volume affords the fullest account of Sinn Fein so far given. It is the particular merit of the book that the author quotes frequently and extensively from the writings and speeches of Sinn Fein leaders, a source of primary importance. These writings are for the most part collected from the files of the extreme nationalist periodicals of the last two decades, papers which had but a limited circulation in Ireland and are now not easily seen by scholars outside of that country. The author's spirit is generally fair, and his strictures often restrained, though for the later period, with which his book is mostly concerned, and with things of which he was himself a part, he writes for his cause with increasing fervor, he can see little good in anything that Great Britain has recently done with respect to his country, and Mr. Lloyd George appears only as a skilful trickster.

The author descends somewhat to the level of the Irish and Irish-American propagandists in this country when he asserts that the Act of Union was not acceptable to the Catholics in 1800 (p. 14), that Irish emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted solely from the famine and the clearances (p. 23), that disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and the first Land Act were merely concessions to the Fenian movement (p. 36), that Parnell is remembered now chiefly for saying "No man can set bounds to the march of a nation" (p. 39), and that Ireland has been overtaxed  $2\frac{3}{4}$  million pounds sterling a year (p. 47).

In the opinion of the reviewer it is a principal defect of the book that it gives so little information concerning the organization, the structure, and the working of the Society of Sinn Fein, precisely the point concerning which we most lack information at present. The author does not sufficiently describe Sinn Fein as one of the manifestations of that

growth of nationalism which so marked the past two generations, and he largely fails to explain its present extraordinary development and success as in part the result of the mighty unrest and ferment of ideas brought on by the war. Bolshevism, Sinn Fein, utopianism, high idealism, labor radicalism, and many novel theories, all of them to some extent have arisen from one source, and all of them are probably waning now with the slow return of more normal times.

RAYMOND TURNER.

*Margot Asquith, an Autobiography.* (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1920. Two volumes. Pp. viii, 266; 282. \$7.50.)

THIS is not a very important book historically, but it is better than the best novel to any student of English politics. Columns have been given up to censuring Mrs. Asquith for violations of good taste, even to gloating over her indiscretions. To the reviewer, who must in advance confess himself an Asquithian in politics, it seems that much of the resentment against the book can be explained by the political bitternesses of the last five years before the war. When the landowning class in Britain set out to punish a woman for her husband's political attack upon their interests, when the rage at his Irish policy was taken out in slights upon her, it is hardly surprising that London scribblers, who, still as in the eighteenth century, take many cues from the great world of society, were ready to pounce upon her. A great deal has been made of a few passages that might well have been left out. Most of them indeed seem to have been omitted in this edition, printed in America. But when one takes into account Mrs. Asquith's knowledge of the dinner-table side of English politics and when one holds in mind her purpose to be entirely frank and sincere—are we not all a little weary of the false modesty of many recent biographies, *e.g.*, of Morley's—one can only say that she has been fairly discreet. She has said—at least in this edition—few unpleasant things and those mostly about people now beyond the reach of hurt. She has said only the best of her husband's rival, Harcourt, only the best of his opponent, Joseph Chamberlain. Of both much else might have been said; that, Mrs. Asquith knew very well.

The book is rambling and confused. We pass abruptly from the nineties to the late teens of the twentieth century and then back again. There is no unity, and even the good stories, of which there are many, are inserted anywhere. Discerning men, as Jowett and Morley, told the young Margot that, an she would, she could write, a favorite form of flattery of young women by older men. But save for now and then a good idiom or fortunate phrase, save for the rapid and affecting narrative of her sister Laura's illness and death, and for the judicious estimate of Balfour, there is little evidence of literary talent.

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In appraising the book we must always remember that it is not the story of her life but of her "glorious youth". A youth so glorious deserves record. There are only incidental, if many, references to her life since marriage. Life since then has been hardly less interesting, but a much more solemn affair, and in writing this book she has, as it were, been reviewing her youth. The little triumphs at dinners, the compliments of dukes and princes, the light conquests, are all told with naïve eagerness, told as if a very young woman were telling her mother, but told without pose, with entire sincerity, and with a frankness that should disarm.

The historian will read the book for its light upon London society of the eighties and nineties and will find occasional explanations of politics and a few glimpses at great figures. We know more about Jowett of Balliol, a little more about Morley, we understand a little better the social setting of the Liberal Party. Mrs. Asquith says that the story of the "Souls" deserves telling, but she has told little enough of it. Too bad, too, that the character-sketch of Gladstone which she showed to the Master of Balliol, the sketch of that great figure whom she knew so intimately and loved so much, she could not have trusted to her readers. Her reticences are more interesting than her indiscretions. Her conversation with Lord Salisbury, who foresaw 1911 so clearly, is worth more than all the pages about Peter Flower. She had the chance of a Lady Holland, but she has never been at heart a political woman; rather a woman of passionate loyalties and infinite capacity for friendships, who listened to politics because it was all around her, but who was really absorbed in people, in good-looking and great people perhaps more especially, and in their ways. She would fain be a Liberal yet she belongs to the old order, even when she befriends a crossing-sweeper, or ventures into east London, or visits a dangerous woman in jail.

It is to be hoped that the elaborate diary from which these chapters are but excerpts and summaries, will be published, say in 1950. Historians will be grateful for it.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

*International Law and the World War.* By JAMES WILFORD GARNER, Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois. In two volumes. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xviii, 524; xii, 534. \$24.00.)

THESE two volumes are intended primarily for the use of lawyers and others especially interested in international law. They make it possible readily to discover what has been decided by the tribunals, and to ascertain the manner in which the principles have been applied to the international incidents of the war.

The traditions and the economic interests which sometimes determine the views of the respective governments are not considered, nor does

Professor Garner attempt to compare the situation of the World War with that other great war period of a century ago, in which we find so many analogies to the present. The student of diplomatic and political history would have been interested to learn in how far the extraordinary disregard of the recognized rights of neutrality which we have witnessed was due to the disappearance of any body of neutral states considerable enough to enforce respect of those rights. Both of these titanic conflicts engulfed almost all the neutral powers, and reduced the two opposing groups to the régime of unrestricted belligerence in which the primordial laws of war and of retaliation overrode the neutral rights of those states that were either too indifferent to international justice to intervene in the conflict, or in too weak and precarious a position to justify it.

But the author does furnish us with what the reviewer believes to be the only comprehensive legal history of the cases in which international law rights were violated or vindicated during the four years of the war. A great mass of material has been carefully digested and classified, and supplied with numerous bibliographical and critical notes. After a brief introductory chapter on the Status of International Law at the Outbreak of the War, the incidents have been gathered into thirty-five chapters arranged in logical sequence, without any division into parts or books further than that which results necessarily from the apportionment into volumes. In the absence of this elaboration, we might, perhaps, have been warranted in expecting a more complete index, but we should be grateful for the valuable bibliographical list of material which has appeared since the outbreak of the war.

Among the many questions discussed, we note the treatment of the inhabitants of the occupied lands, Belgium, France, etc. (chaps. XII., XIII.), the imposition of collective fines (chap. XXVI.), the deportation of civilians (Lille) (chap. XXVII.), the execution of Edith Cavell (II. 97-105), submarine warfare on merchant vessels (chaps. XV., XVI.), including the Fryatt case (I. 407 f.), the premeditated and reiterated destruction of hospital ships by German submarines (chap. XX., pp. 505 f.), and aerial warfare (chap. XIX.). Even the general reader will be interested in Professor Garner's account of these international cases which have been discussed in every country by all kinds and conditions of men during the course of the war.

In a work of this kind, it is of prime importance to consider the impartiality of the treatment, especially when the author is a loyal citizen of one of the states actively participating in the war. Professor Garner preserves throughout a calm, judicial language suited to the formulation of judicial criticism, but he confesses in his preface that the effect of blockades and censorship has been to render inaccessible to him important sources of information, and after the United States became a belligerent, he remarks, not even technical or scientific publications were admitted from any of the enemy countries. "In consequence

of this", Professor Garner adds, "the German defense to many charges made against them for violating the law was not always known to me, or was only known through newspaper dispatches from neutral countries. Nevertheless, the views of the German jurists on all questions of international law, the rules of which the Germans were charged with disregarding, were so distorted and colored by partisanship that it may be doubted whether their inaccessibility was a loss of any real consequence, and I may add that Professor Oppenheim shared with me this view as to the untrustworthiness of German authority" (preface, pp. vii.-viii.)

We seem to feel in some places a reticence about entering into an outspoken discussion of certain incidents which have aroused national passions. For example, in the discussion of the execution of Edith Cavell, Professor Garner brings out clearly the unjustifiable and utterly shameless manner in which the victim was denied every semblance of a fair trial, and executed without any grounds to justify a procedure so summary and a shrift so short. We must all agree with the author that the act was as impolitic as it was abusive. It is appropriately compared to Napoleon's execution of a poor bookseller, and Professor Garner aptly applies Carlyle's comment to Miss Cavell's case:

I am not sure but he had better have lost his best park of artillery, or had his best regiment drowned in the sea, than shot that poor German bookseller, Palm. It was palpable, murderous injustice which no man, let him paint an inch thick, could make out to be other. It burnt deep into the hearts of men, it and the like of it; suppressed fire flashed in the eyes of men as they thought of it, waiting their day, which day came (II. 105).

Nevertheless, we cannot quite feel that the juridical aspects of the Cavell case have been adequately considered until the author shall have indicated more clearly some criterion whereby it may be decided whether a government is justified in executing even a woman who, yielding to patriotic and humane sentiments, uses her position of trust as a hospital nurse, clandestinely to engage in acts injurious to the military interests of the occupying power.

Again, in the case of the seizure of the Dutch ships by the United States and Great Britain, we note the same hesitancy in the author's conclusion of his account, when he writes: "It would seem that if the right of requisition is allowable at all under international law, the manner in which it was exercised by the United States and Great Britain in this case was not objectionable" (I. 176). After all, the evident purpose of this work is to set forth the decisions and the opposing views with some brief and appropriate reference to circumstances which are likely to influence the final verdict. Professor Garner is probably wise in not attempting for the present to formulate final conclusions, but his volumes will facilitate the task when it is undertaken.

In his penultimate chapter (XXXVII.), Professor Garner discusses the effect of the war on international law, and writes:



In the first place, the war demonstrated in a striking manner that many of the rules which had been agreed upon by the body of States for the conduct of war were inadequate, illogical, or inapplicable to the somewhat peculiar and novel conditions under which they had to be applied during the late war. In the second place, the war brought out the fact that the existing rules did not by any means cover the whole field; that they were wholly silent in regard to the employment of various agencies and instrumentalities for waging war, and that they did not deal at all with certain conditions and circumstances which were unforeseen at the time the rules were formulated (II. 452).

These statements are sweeping, and it may be questioned whether the rules were really so much at fault as were those who were responsible for their enforcement. Again, it may be asked whether rules of neutrality which presuppose a preponderance of neutral states are workable when the greater part of the world is divided into two hostile camps.

A concluding chapter deals with the Enforcement of International Law, and the Outlook for the Future, and in this connection Professor Garner discusses the punishment of the ex-Kaiser and others who are accused of having violated the law of nations.

In regard to the question of sanctions, "it hardly seems possible", in the opinion of the author,

that international law can ever be made effective in the sense in which municipal law is effective. Nevertheless, there would seem to be several ways by which its binding force can be materially strengthened and its value as a body of law enhanced. In the first place, as stated above, the body of law itself must be reconstructed and elaborated, and to this end there should be provided a more efficacious machinery for making international law and for revising it, from time to time, as changing conditions require. In the second place, an effort should be made to establish an international organization with appropriate agencies for enforcing its prescriptions. Third, provision should be made for the compulsory investigation of international disputes of a political character and the compulsory arbitration of those of a justiciable character. Finally, there should be an agreement among the powers to employ their moral and economic, and if necessary their armed, strength to compel disputing nations to have recourse, except in cases of self-defence, to the one or the other of these expedients, depending on the nature of the controversy. In short, the making of war, except in case of self-defence, should be declared illegal and the disputants should be restrained by the joint action of the body of States from attacking each other and thereby disturbing the general peace, until they have made a sincere attempt to settle their disputes by conciliation or arbitration (II. 465-466).

We shall leave it to the technical reviews devoted to international law and jurisprudence to draw attention to the few omissions and necessary corrections, which must necessarily be found in an original investigation of such magnitude.

It is a matter of surprise and congratulation that a work so broad in scope, so fair in purpose and so thorough in detail, has been brought to completion almost as soon as the termination of the war to which it relates.

ELLERY C. STOWELL.

*Mémoires du Général Galliéni: Défense de Paris, 25 Août-11 Septembre 1914.* (Paris: Payot et Cie. 1920. Pp. 271. 16 fr.)

THIS book is published by the family of the late General Galliéni. The prefatory note explains that it was completed in June, 1915, and laid aside for publication after the war. Thus, while other volumes of memoirs have appeared before it, none can claim so early a date, and this may be regarded as the earliest, rather than the latest, treatment of what may be called the Joffre-Galliéni controversy.

The general's introduction outlines his activities as commander of the Fifth Army just before the war, especially his studies on the probable form of a German offensive. His conclusion, based upon map manoeuvres, was that the attack would come through Belgium, and his official recommendations were shaped accordingly. This was, of course, a familiar idea to all French military men; but in view of the somewhat exaggerated expressions of surprise after the event it is interesting to see that it had been unreservedly accepted by the commander of the Fifth, or left flank, Army.

On his retirement in April, 1914, he was designated as second in command of the Armies of the East, in case of war; and on August 2 he was placed on duty as such. On August 26, however, he was made military governor of the entrenched camp of Paris.

The book describes vividly the weakness of the defenses, and the measures taken to strengthen them. It also emphasizes the weight attached by General Galliéni to making the defense mobile, and the effort made by him to secure the necessary mobile troops. Of course, he was unable to secure all he wanted, for they were too urgently needed elsewhere, but he did collect enough to make a good striking force.

The high lights of the book are those parts dealing with the assumption of the offensive by the Paris garrison. The writer insists that it was General Joffre's fixed intention to continue his withdrawal behind the Seine and the Yonne, there to remain on the defensive until the armies could be reinforced; that Galliéni was the first to propose the offensive against the German flank and rear; and that it was only gradually and with difficulty that Joffre was won to this point of view. He gives a vivid description of the operations, and cites in full numerous documents tending to substantiate his contention. The discussion is, of course, the brief of an advocate, but is conspicuously well done.

The famous taxicab incident comes in for notice, and assumes here its true perspective. It was not a fundamental element in the operation,

as has been popularly represented, but merely an expedient for the movement of a specific body of reinforcements—the infantry of a single division. It was new in that the cabs were used for a large troop movement at a distance, and it attracted attention because many of them were seized on the public streets; but commercial motor vehicles had been taken over long before, both by the French and by the British. Galliéni himself had been thus using taxicabs within the entrenched camp ever since August 29.

As illustrating the feeling in official circles as to the defense of Paris, the author describes his visit to the American ambassador on September 3, and gives a reproduction of the poster which the ambassador had already printed, in good French and fair German, for the protection of the property of American citizens.

Considerable space is devoted to the relations of the Paris force with the British; these seem to have been entirely pleasant, but the opinion is clearly expressed that Marshal French did not act with the proper energy.

One peculiar discrepancy in documents is noted, which might justify inquiry. One of Galliéni's despatches mentions the line Coulommiers—Changis as that proposed for the British. Changis is a tiny hamlet southeast of Meaux, south of the Marne, which does not appear upon the 1/200,000 map. The British reply describes the line as Coulommiers—Charny; the latter place is west of Meaux, north of the Marne. Since the British made no effort to reach either line, probably no damage was done, but as a matter of the technique of orders it is an interesting small point.

All in all, the book is extremely attractive, and is a valuable contribution to knowledge of a delicate controversial point.

OLIVER L. SPAULDING, JR.

*Seaborne Trade*. Volume I. *The Cruiser Period*. By C. ERNEST FAYLE. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defense.] (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xvii, 442. \$7.50.)

SIR JULIAN CORBETT, historian in charge of the British Naval Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defense, begins the preface to the first volume of his *Naval Operations* with the following words:

On June 28, 1916, the Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith) announced in Parliament that "In view of the demand which is likely to arise and the desirability of providing the public with an authentic account, it has been decided to prepare for publication, as soon as possible after the close of the war, an Official History dealing with its various aspects." The present volume is the first instalment of the promised work.

But, although the British Historical Section was not established in its present form until two years after the outbreak of the World War (to

give it the official title recognized by the American Army and Navy), nevertheless it had been in existence, for the study of the Russian-Japanese War and other purposes, since 1907. As early as January, 1915, the Committee of Imperial Defense approved the appointment of Sir Julian Corbett and Captain C. T. Atkinson "to collect and collate all naval and military matters respectively for the ultimate compilation of an official history". Under Sir Julian Corbett were placed three trained historians, including Mr. Archibald Hurd, as well as four research assistants and a staff of clerks. It will thus be seen that an efficient historical organization was already available when the commission to write the official history of the Great War (as it is officially called in Great Britain) was given to Sir Julian.

The impulse is irresistible to compare this generous and far-sighted policy of the British government with the provision made for our own Naval Historical Section in money and personnel, the only trained historical writers now available being reserve officers ordered to the duty of collecting and collating naval material with a view to publication, no appropriation having been made at all for historians, all the small sum appropriated, \$20,000, being expended on the salaries of the clerks necessary.

Sir Julian Corbett's arrangement of the publications of the British Naval Historical Section is logical and comprehensive. Besides his own great work on the purely naval operations of the war, which he hopes to complete in four or five volumes, the first of which has just appeared, two other histories are projected, namely, the book under present discussion, and Mr. Archibald Hurd's *The Merchant Navy*, both of which will be in several volumes. All three of these works are both general and specific in character. In other words they abound in details and yet do not shrink from drawing historical conclusions that more timid authors might rather leave to the judgment of ripened years. That their judgments are considered to be only their own is proved however by the notice printed at the beginning of each work, to the effect that "The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have given the author access to official documents in the preparation of this work, but they are in no way responsible for his reading or presentation of the facts as stated."

Mr. Fayle's book differs in character somewhat from the other two in that it deals, not with the achievements of the Royal Navy and the merchant service, but with the results of those achievements. It will be completed in three volumes, of which the present one, *The Cruiser Period*, covers the time from the outbreak of the war to about the end of January, 1915, roughly corresponding to the period treated of in the first volumes of Sir Julian Corbett and Mr. Hurd. It consists chiefly of a description of the far-reaching preparations made throughout the maritime world to safeguard British shipping, and of the spectacular and devastating activities of the German commerce-destroyers up to the time when they were all sunk, driven ashore, captured, or interned.

It is difficult to preserve a judicial moderation in speaking of this work, which is about everything that a book of the kind ought to be, and must remain for a very long time the chief authority upon all matters connected with the keeping open of the world's water-ways for seaborne trade, not only of Britain but of her allies and of neutrals. It would seem to merit the compliment of much more space than the reviewer has at his command, and yet such is the high quality of the book and its vast importance as a contribution to history, that it really suffices to say that it is absolutely indispensable, not only to the historian but to all who care to appreciate fully the essential factors in the greatest of all wars, particularly those connected with the economic development of the struggle. No one can read it without having impressed upon him once again the overwhelming importance of seaborne trade, of the merchant marine in fact, to any country bordering upon the ocean, both as a source of riches and as a decisive factor in national defense.

Mr. Fayle's style, exact yet spirited, is well suited to a work of this kind, in which graphic descriptions of the exploits of the *Emden* or the *Karlsruhe* alternate with clear expositions of trade situations and tonnage problems.

A small but excellent appendix gives tables of shipping losses, export and import values and weights, and the prices of staples for the period covered by this volume. There is also a good index. The book is not illustrated but is furnished with nine admirable maps (contained in cover-pockets) showing the principal trade-routes of the world and those of certain particular areas, as well as the scenes of the activities of the German raiders.

EDWARD BRECK.

*Secrets of Crewe House: the Story of a Famous Campaign.* By Sir CAMPBELL STUART, K.B.E. (London, New York, and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1920. Pp. xiii, 240. 7 s. 6 d.)

THIS book is one of those semi-official accounts of special phases of war or armistice activities with which the public already is familiar, and which promise to form an imposing department of post-bellum literature. It gives a history of the British government's propaganda in enemy countries from February, 1918, when that work was made a distinct branch of war endeavor, until the close of hostilities. It merely alludes by implication to what had been done to influence enemy opinion previously, and still continued to be done, in a less formal way, by other agencies. The author touches upon the propaganda conducted within the territories of the Central Powers by other Allied countries and the United States, only so far as it was associated with British work in this field, through the effort made, very late in the contest, to co-ordinate the propaganda of all the governments fighting Germany under a single advisory committee.

These limitations of subject-matter are less important than might appear at first glance, because after Lord Northcliffe organized his new department at Crewe House, propaganda quickly assumed much greater significance than previously. To some extent this was the result of concentration of effort and increased efficiency under a specialized personnel. But in a larger degree it was because those critical days had come when the peoples and armies of the Central Powers opened their ears to truths to which they had been deaf earlier in the struggle, and because propaganda policies now involved weighty commitments as to the terms of peace.

Indeed the book will be valuable to historians principally on account of the interrelation it traces between programmes of propaganda and political and diplomatic programmes. Otherwise its "secrets" are too innocuous to thrill the reader. It is discreetly reticent as to the actual channels through which literature was smuggled into enemy territories and distributed there; the information it gives as to the mechanics of propaganda is limited mostly to matters of common knowledge. It is not a book of anecdotes or sensations. Its personal allusions are confined to colorless references to official section heads who are introduced with a toastmaster's conventional eulogies. All this, however, is in the spirit of an honest effort to give credit where credit is due. The author was second in command to Lord Northcliffe at Crewe House, and later his successor. Consequently his book has the virtues of authority and ample information, tempered by that touch of banality which seems fated to dull government bureau histories.

But as soon as we approach the larger problems of propaganda, the book becomes a valuable source of knowledge. It lays down the principles which must guide the art of influencing enemy opinion in war. "First of all axioms of propaganda is that only truthful statements be made. Secondly, there must be no conflicting arguments." We are given a lucid description of the way these two guiding rules shaped the organization, technique, and policies of the British propaganda office. The grand strategy of that office is traced—the concentration of forces against Austria-Hungary, with its discordant races open-minded to teachings of revolt; the accommodation of its arguments and appeals to shifting sentiment in Germany, and to the German type of mind, by that "master of psychology", H. G. Wells; the centring of attack at first upon the Junkers rather than the Hohenzollerns; the emphasis of America's great preparations and accomplishments; the stress upon the Allies' constructive peace programme. Here the book, which is illustrated with reproductions of circulars actually used in Germany and on the front, becomes an important contribution to the history of enemy opinion: and it will therefore hold a permanent and creditable place in the literature of the war.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

*A History of the Peace Conference.* Edited by H. W. V. TEMPERLEY. [Published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs.] Volumes I. and II., *The Settlement with Germany*; volume III., *Chronology, Notes, and Documents.* (London: Henry Frowde, and Hodder and Stoughton. 1920. Pp. xxxi, 517; xvii, 488; vii, 457. 42 sh.)

THIS is the most comprehensive and important historical work dealing with the Peace Conference that has thus far been attempted, and even those critics who refuse to admit that it can properly be called history, in the strict sense, must recognize its value, probably of a unique sort, to the student of recent events. In view of the number of historians serving on the staffs of the British and American Peace Commissions, it was natural that discussions should arise at Paris directed toward the organization in historical form of the events and movements with which these historians had come into touch. Practical results were assured with the founding of the Institute of International Affairs, among the activities of which was to be the publication of an Annual Register, beginning with an account of the Congress of Paris. The three volumes under consideration form the first installment of this register, and are to be complemented by two other volumes, dealing presumably with the Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish treaties. The work was planned largely by Lord Eustace Percy and the late George Louis Beer, and American historians will therefore take a keen personal interest in the results, although Dr. Beer, Professor Hazeltine, and Professor Shotwell are the only Americans who contribute directly to these first volumes.

The scope of the work is much broader than might be surmised from the title, for those who planned it desired to record, not merely the events of the Conference itself, but also the military background of the peace negotiations, the social and economic situation in Europe, the state of public opinion in the world, and something approaching a philosophic analysis of the treaties. The difficulties presented by such a programme are obvious. The work could not be carried through by a single historian, or even by a small group, but must be the co-operative effort of a number of specialists. It would be impossible to avoid unevenness, not merely of quality, but of method. Certain chapters demanded a narrative style, others an analytical. Some contributors would regard their task as one of presenting historical material in the rough, others would prefer to write historical essays. With topics of the most widely varying character, the preservation of a single continuous thread, either of a logical or narrative type, would be out of the question. Repetition could hardly be avoided. The finished product bears the impress of such difficulties, which have by no means been obliterated. But the extent of success is such that the originators and editor of the volumes are more than justified in their belief that the



deficiencies inherent in a work of this kind are heavily outweighed by the counterbalancing qualities.

The first volume covers three general topics, the end of the war, Europe in dissolution, and the preliminaries of the Conference. It begins with a brilliant résumé of fifty pages describing the military and naval events and factors that led to the armistice, which is followed by a narrative of the revolutionary movement in Germany from 1917, and concludes with a brief sketch of the armistice negotiations from the political point of view. The second general topic covers the material effects of the war upon belligerents and neutrals, the official war-aims of the belligerents, the policies of the labor groups in the chief countries, and a narrative of the relations between the Bolsheviks on the one side and Germany and the Entente on the other. The third section begins with a study, in part analysis and in part narrative, of the organization and executive working of the Conference. It suffers by comparison with Professor Haskins's account, by reason of lack of color, but it describes succinctly and with some detail the preparations for peace made by the different states, the organization of the Council of Ten and of Four, emphasizes the work of the technical commissions, and traces the negotiations with the enemy. As was to be hoped, stress is laid upon the executive functions of the Conference in the operation of the Armistice Commission at Spa, the work of the Supreme Economic Council in the matter of relief and food problems, and the attempted maintenance of order in Poland and Hungary. This phase of the activities of the Conference receives here, for the first time, the prominence that should be accorded to it. It is followed by an analysis of the legal basis of international relations prior to the re-establishment of peace by treaties. The first volume concludes with an appendix which includes extracts from the secret agreements of the Allies and from President Wilson's speeches, the text of the notes that preceded the armistice, and the text of all the armistices.

The first volume is thus devoted chiefly to the conditions that preceded the Conference and those under which it operated. The second volume deals more specifically with the German settlement. It opens with a brief chapter narrating the negotiations that led to the signature of the treaty, summarizing the chief points of the German objections and the Allied replies. There follows an important section devoted to an analysis of the general and international clauses of the Versailles Treaty, including the League, the labor clauses, the reparation and financial clauses, and international communications. It is here that we find the discussion of the economic aspects of the German treaty, although the casual reader might look for it in the following chapter, entitled the Principles applied to Germany. In reality, the latter is devoted entirely to the military and naval terms. Two chapters on the settlement of German territorial problems in Europe follow, the first devoted to the western, the second to the eastern frontiers of the new

Germany. After a brief study of the territorial settlement in Africa, comes a continuation of the discussion of the legal basis of international relations begun in the first volume, which serves as a convenient heading to cover divergent interpretations of the principles upon which peace was to be made and a survey of the application of those principles in the case of the German settlement. The volume concludes with a sketch of the New Germany after the armistice, to the establishment of the constitution, a sequel to the chapter on the revolution in the first volume.

The third volume is composed of appendixes, chiefly documentary in character. It begins with the German treaties of March and May, 1918, with Russia and Rumania. Miscellaneous documents on the League of Nations follow, including numerous extracts from the speeches of President Wilson, and the statements of General Smuts, of Clemenceau, and of Lloyd George on the Versailles Treaty. The major portion of the volume is made up of the text of the Versailles Treaty with ancillary agreements, and of the German constitution. It concludes with the official index to the German treaty.

It is obvious from the foregoing that the arrangement of material is confused, although any critical reader who attempts to improve it will appreciate at once the difficulties that confronted the editor. Sections of the first volume are broken off, to be resumed later in the second. There is inevitable overlapping of topics and much repetition, although where the same topic is covered in different chapters it is generally treated from different points of view. The scope of the work and the difficulties of arrangement have naturally led to the omission of important topics. The most noticeable, perhaps, is the almost complete disappearance of the question of Shantung, which is barely mentioned in the first volume, and to which no allusion whatever is made in the lengthy analysis of the German settlement. In other respects the volumes cannot be regarded as definitive. The contributors evidently retain an unwillingness to reveal what seems to them confidential information and their treatment is often purely formal. The true story of the formation of the Council of Four is not told, nor is there reference to Lloyd George's desperate effort to secure wholesale concessions to the Germans in June. On the other hand, certain chapters and passages deserve the warmest praise. The summary and analysis of President Wilson's foreign policy in chapter V. of the first volume is the fairest and most penetrating that has yet been offered; the same may be said of the discussion as to whether the Fourteen Points should have been applied to Austria. In sum, and disregarding incidental deficiencies and points of excellence, the three volumes, with their full indexes, provide a work of reference that cannot be superseded for many years, and for which we must be profoundly grateful. It is to be hoped that the supplementary volumes will soon appear.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*The League of Nations at Work.* By ARTHUR SWEETSER. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. \$1.75.)

VERY wisely Mr. Sweetser has elected to elucidate the League not by an analysis of its principles but by a discussion of its structure. As a member of the Public Information Section of the League Secretariat, which he entered after service with the Peace Conference, the training school for so many of the Secretariat personnel, he has had exceptional opportunities for mastering the somewhat intricate machinery with which he deals.

So rapidly is the League developing that any book on the subject must necessarily be out of date by the time it goes to press. This book was published in September, 1920, before mediation had been undertaken in the Polish-Lithuanian dispute and before the Assembly had met. Yet, although the activities of the League have grown enormously since the book was written and many of the chapters already need sequels, the structure of the League remains practically unchanged. The book has a present value in giving a clear and stimulating study of that structure, in a popular and readable form, thus supplying from the inside what can scarcely be obtained from scattered press accounts. Any future historian must go to it for a graphic picture of the League's genesis and initial organization. He will find, too, registered there, in all sincerity, the high hope of the League in its first year of life by one who is a part of its machinery and in daily contact with the difficulties which confront it.

The author, after giving some description of the conditions under which the League had its birth and a sketch of its early history, proceeds to an enumeration of the organizations within the League which are specifically provided by the Covenant, namely the Assembly, Council, Secretariat, Permanent Court of International Justice, Permanent Armament Commission (now called Military, Naval, and Air Commission), the Permanent Commissions on Mandates and on International Transit, and the International Labor Organization. These he differentiates from those organizations which have been developed in order to fulfill certain duties prescribed by the treaty, such as the International Health Bureau, the International Bureau Section, the Public Information Section, the Treaty Registration Section. In later chapters he takes up these bodies in more detail and gives an outline of their structure, the personnel of those already established, and the problems with which they are dealing. The chapters on the Permanent Court, on Health, and on Armaments necessarily seem fragmentary in view of later history. Yet although the chapter on the court was written before the final draft had been drawn up by the committee of jurists, since which time it has been amended, adopted, and is now in process of ratification, nevertheless the chapter remains valuable for its summary of the various plans originally submitted by the several nations.

In writing of the Council one could perhaps write a more critical study and yet be as sincere a friend of the League. However, it is since the book was written that the Council has developed a more individual character. It is in dealing with the Council and the Assembly that one feels most keenly the need of revision. Any one writing now would have a wealth of material with which to prophesy the future of both bodies.

Those who wish to understand the function of the Secretariat will find in that chapter and in the subsequent one dealing with Minorities and with the Free City of Danzig and the Saar Basin, a clear outline of its many activities. The early history of the Åland Islands dispute will be found in the chapter on the League as Mediator. In the chapters on the transit, labor, and health organization and on Economic Co-operation one gets a vivid appreciation of the benefits, other than political, which even we who are not members of the League may hope to enjoy from the fact of its existence.

Throughout, the author emphasizes the value of this new machinery, yet he takes pains to make it clear that no amount of machinery will be adequate without popular enthusiasm or, as he calls it, "the urge" behind it. The book cannot fail to impart to the reader some of Mr. Sweetser's conviction of the high purpose and possibilities of the League.

SARAH WAMBAUGH.

*An Introduction to the History of Japan.* By KATSURO HARA. [Yamato Society Publication.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1920. Pp. xviii, 411. \$2.50.)

THIS is the first publication of the Yamato Society, an organization composed of a number of prominent Japanese gentlemen, whose object is "to make clear the meaning and extent of Japanese culture in order to reveal the fundamental character of the nation to the world; and also the introduction of the best literature and art of foreign countries to Japan so that a common understanding of Eastern and Western thought may be promoted". The author, Professor Katsuro Hara, of the University of Kyoto, is one of the distinguished historical scholars of Japan, and he tells us his book is "intended for those Europeans and Americans who would like to dip into the past, as well as peer into the future of Japan—Japan, not as a land of quaint curios and picturesque paradoxes only worthy to be preserved intact for a show, but as a land inhabited by a nation striving hard to improve itself, and to take a share, however humble, in the common progress of the civilization of the world".

An introductory study which tries to cover nineteen hundred years of a nation's history in 398 pages must present to the author many problems of proportion and emphasis. On the whole, Dr. Hara has apportioned a fair amount of space to an account of the social and cultural

life of the people, even at the expense of other matters which are usually given more prominence in similar works. His book is primarily designed to help the reader to understand modern Japan, for only seventeen pages are devoted to the great events of the past fifty years. Thus the fullest treatment of a period is that of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867), to whose political régime, cultural and social conditions, and decline and fall, a hundred pages are given. Here, as might be expected, the necessities of condensation have occasioned surprising omissions. There is, for example, no reference to the first foreign treaties, of 1854, the first to be mentioned being that of 1858 with the United States. This was, of course, the most important of all the treaties of the period, yet it seems as if a history of Japan could hardly overlook Commodore Perry. A similar omission occurs in the treatment of the Christian propaganda in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the missionaries are severely condemned, yet there is no adequate statement of the measures taken by the Shoguns to rid Japan of their dangerous teachings.

These comments should not be considered criticisms. They are intended merely to indicate some of the problems of selection. But they also suggest why the reviewer believes that Dr. Hara's work will be read with greater interest by Western students of Japanese history than by persons approaching the subject for the first time. A text of this kind, written in English by a Japanese investigator, should be welcomed by every student. If, occasionally, the author takes too much for granted, and thus may confuse the beginner, the student understands the reference and welcomes the suggestive discussion which accompanies many of the topics, and he will be interested in seeing how a native scholar evaluates the events of Japanese history. But he will note, with regret, the absence of citations to authorities and of a bibliography—a critical estimate of the better known histories written by Western scholars would be of value in a book of this kind—while the lack of any maps greatly lessens the usefulness of the book for the general reader. Some unusual forms of proper names have been adopted in place of those well established in English.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783.* By HERBERT E. BOLTON, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of California, and THOMAS M. MARSHALL, Ph.D., Professor of History in Washington University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 609. \$4.25.)

THE history of the colonial period in America, long neglected by text-book writers, has meanwhile been revolutionized by the acceptance,

among investigators, of a few significant concepts: the concept of the frontier; the view that commerce was the *raison d' être* of colonization and "the very centre of colonial life"; the idea of colonial history as imperial history; the recognition that English colonization was a phase of a greater European movement.

In the Bolton and Marshall volume—the first attempt to summarize the results of recent research in a comprehensive college manual—each of these points of view has found some place, though the first and last have been emphasized. The book has been prepared avowedly as "a text written from the standpoint of North America as a whole, and giving a more adequate treatment of the colonies of nations other than England and of the English colonies other than the thirteen which revolted" (p. v). In this respect the authors have succeeded in making their synthesis comprehensive. In two of the major divisions of the book (The Founding of the Colonies, Expansion and International Conflict), in less measure in the third (The Revolt of the English Colonies), the conventional accounts have been greatly broadened. Here will be found more than perfunctory handling of the Dutch and Swedish colonies; of the various West Indian colonies; of the French in Louisiana and the West; of Russian expansion in the far Northwest. Spanish activities in the Southwest are unfolded with special interest and authority; indeed, these chapters give the book its real distinction. The authors have sought to unify their continental theme by emphasizing the rivalry of empires in America. There emerge, in this account, half a dozen border conflicts outside the scope of the Parkman epic: on the frontiers of Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, in the Caribbean zone. The frontier assumes primacy among colonial interests, but especially the frontier of the explorer, trader, and missionary, the frontier of contact with the Indian and of conflict with rival colonies.

All this is admirable, in revealing to the student wider horizons. But questions, always debatable, of proportion and scale arise. On institutional development there is less than most teachers will require. The machinery of imperial administration is not neglected; but corporate colony, proprietary province, quit-rent, are terms which will be sought in vain in the index, nor is there anywhere topical presentation of such matters. Though the authors have recognized, in passing, the importance of commerce, they have not given it extended analysis. The early commercial companies are described, but few students would discover the vital connection between the early English colonial empire and the older commercial empire. Again, a closer view of the structure and economy of New England trade would make clearer the colonial attitude toward the Molasses and Sugar Acts.

The volume is made more useful by an index; by select but unannotated bibliographies in each chapter, suggestive of further reading rather than completely descriptive of sources; and by nearly fifty line maps. Introductory sections in many of the chapters serve excellently



to project colonial history against the European background, though here, as elsewhere, it would be well at some points to shift emphasis from the narrative of events to the description of institutions and of movements.

To lucidity and general accuracy Professors Bolton and Marshall have added a quality less common in text-books, originality. Not the least result of the use of this manual in college classes will be the re-vamping of syllabi.

V. W. CRANE.

*The Frontier in American History.* By FREDERICK J. TURNER, Professor of History in Harvard University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1920. Pp. iii, 375. \$2.50.)

THE period of American history covered by this collection of essays and addresses is what Professor Turner calls "the age of colonization which came gradually to an end with the disappearance of the frontier and free land". It is now twenty-seven years since the first of these illuminating essays, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", was read at a meeting of the American Historical Association. What was then a fresh and exceedingly suggestive interpretation of our history has come to be almost a commonplace in American historiography, so completely have the younger historians made this point of view their own. Most of the earlier essays in this volume are elaborations of a common theme—the movement of western expansion. The West is the outer edge of the wave of advance across the continent, Professor Turner tells us in a dozen different ways. "The problem of the West is nothing less than the problem of American development." "The very essence of the American frontier is that it is the graphic line which records the expansive energies of the people behind it, and which by the law of its own being continually draws that advance after it to new conquests." The last chapter in the book—an address delivered in 1918—sketches once again the outstanding features of pioneer society in contrast with the dominant characteristics of the Old World. There is in this concluding chapter perhaps less buoyant optimism, as though the author were more keenly aware of the great strain which is being put upon American institutions and somewhat more concerned lest the heritage of the age of colonization should be lost in this new era. "When we lost our free lands and our isolation from the Old World," he warns us, "we lost our immunity from the results of mistakes, of waste, of inefficiency and of inexperience in our government."

It is somewhat unfortunate that Professor Turner nowhere defines in set terms what he means by democracy, a word that appears on almost every page. There is, indeed, no term which is used more carelessly in everyday speech and in contemporary literature. For the most part Professor Turner employs the word to describe frontier society in which relative equality of social condition and of economic opportunity



prevailed; but he often uses the word loosely in a political sense to mean merely self-government or representative government. And in this latter sense, he has only followed the careless usage of western Americans who have invoked democracy very much as the preacher held his hearers spell-bound by that blessed word Mesopotamia. The concept of democracy in the age of colonization was much narrower than at the present time, for it connoted no more than a government based upon the suffrages of male adults. Measured by contemporary events, the western American whom Professor Turner describes was not a full-fledged democrat, nor even a believer in equality of political opportunity for all adults.

All these essays and addresses bear rereading, and will be heartily welcomed in this serviceable form. Professor Turner has a gift for epigrammatic expression; and many of his incisive statements may be recalled with profit by those who have followed eagerly the trail he has blazed. American historians are prone to forget that "the West, at bottom, is a form of society, rather than an area", and that "not the Constitution, but free land and an abundance of natural resources open to a fit people, made the democratic type of society in America for three centuries."

ALLEN JOHNSON.

*Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730.* By THOMAS GODDARD WRIGHT, late Instructor in English in Yale University. Edited by his wife. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1920. Pp. 322. \$6.00.)

THE purpose of this book is stated accurately in the introduction: "The pages which follow will not attempt to weigh colonial literature, either to condemn or defend it (although at times they may endeavor to correct impressions which, to the writer, seem erroneous), but rather will attempt to determine that which lies back of any literature, the culture of the people themselves, and to study the relation between their culture and the literature which they produced." The author divides the time treated into three periods—1620-1670, 1670-1700, 1700-1730—and in each period discusses Education, Books and Libraries, Inter-course with England, Other Phases of Culture, and Production of Literature. Under each head he presents a mass of significant material, gathered from original sources or from secondary works of acknowledged trustworthiness, and stated in clear and interesting form. His thesis is that "the general state of culture in the colonies" was "higher than it has usually been rated".

The excellence of the education given at Harvard, during the first period, is proved by the academic honors and church positions given to Harvard graduates in England under the Puritans, and by the fact that several sons of opulent English families were sent to Harvard to be

educated. Dr. Wright shows that even in Plymouth, where culture was less than in Boston, few of the early settlers lacked books: "Of over seventy inventories examined in the first two volumes of the Wills, only a dozen failed to make specific mention of books"; William Brewster's library was valued at £43, nearly a third of his whole estate, and Miles Standish left about fifty books, including Caesar's *Commentaries*, the *Iliad*, and Calvin's *Institutes*, all stimulating to the martial spirit. The pages about private libraries and the library of Harvard College contain less that was not generally known, but new light is thrown upon the actual use of books by many extracts from letters that reveal extensive lending of volumes by John Winthrop and others. Dr. Wright says that the printing press, the powerful instrument of culture, was set up in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a year earlier than in Glasgow, and ten and thirty years earlier than in Rochester and Exeter respectively; the output of the Cambridge press between 1638 and 1670 numbered 157 separate works. As to the quality of the colonial literature of the first period, the author makes some interesting comparisons with contemporary literature by English Puritans, barring Milton and Marvell, and concludes that "if no great literature was produced by the Puritans in New England, it may be not because they were in New England, but because little great literature was produced by the Puritans anywhere."

The same method yields like results in regard to the other two periods, except that the second shows some decline, due largely to less intercourse between the Puritan colonies and England during the Restoration. An appendix contains the inventory of Brewster's library, a list of the books given to the college by John Harvard, selected titles from the Harvard College Library catalogue of 1723, invoices of books shipped to Boston in the last quarter of the seventeenth century (including some "romances"), references to books in the writings of Increase and Cotton Mather, and some other material. An index of names and titles concludes the book.

Every student of American history and literature will be grateful to the author of this valuable work, and will regret that his early death forbade its completion and the undertaking of other studies in the same field. One mildly warning note should perhaps be sounded. In his zeal to prove that the intellectual life of colonial New England was on the same plane with that of Puritan England, Dr. Wright largely ignores the fact that the literary culture of the colonies, in the narrower sense of the word "literary", was much lower than the literary culture of England as a whole in the years which produced Milton, Herrick, Dryden, Addison, and Swift. The book contains, however, the means of correcting its own emphasis on this point. To say, as Dr. Wright does, that the New England Puritan was as literary as the average English Puritan is after all only another way of saying that New England was settled by representatives of the least artistic portion of the

English people; indeed, Dr. Wright's book-lists remind us anew of this truth, for again and again they include the mediocre poems of the Puritan Wither while lacking the great names of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton.

WALTER C. BRONSON.

*William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756: a History.*

Vol. I. By GEORGE ARTHUR WOOD, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of American History, Ohio State University. [Columbia University Studies, vol. XCII.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. 433. \$4.50.)

ASIDE from preface, bibliography, and index, this volume contains almost exactly four hundred pages. Four of these give Shirley's ancestry. Nearly one hundred are devoted to his experiences under Governor Belcher and the rise of a Whig oligarchy in Britain, much colonial history appearing in explanation of Belcher's fall and the problems which faced his successor.

A second hundred pages recount the difficulties between crown and colony and the reforms attempted by Shirley. Among these the currency problem is emphasized and the governor's position thus stated: "The bad paper currency existent in America was one of the by-products of the shortsighted British colonial system. Under this system the development of colonial resources was hampered, the commercial and military interests of the colonies were often disregarded in the foreign policy of the empire, and the prosperity of the colonies was so reduced that ordinarily they must constantly deny themselves a sound currency that they might employ the fugitive stores of coin which came to them to pay for the English goods which under that system they were forced to buy."

The spirit in which Shirley settled this problem shows one great source of his success in Massachusetts. He was willing to admit defects in the British policy. The governor owed his appointment to the Duke of Newcastle. He came to America to mend his fortunes and to provide for his dependents but he did not necessarily adopt the economic or political views of his patron. Shirley doubted the wisdom of British trade regulations and worked as would Franklin to promote the welfare of Massachusetts and create good-will between crown and colony. Fortunately his wife, of whom little is said, was a good provider and Shirley was free to encourage friendliness between Britain and New England, to further co-operation between council and representatives in Massachusetts, and to unite that colony with others against the French, an important step in American development.

The second half of Professor Wood's volume shows some growth in American harmony with the conquest of Louisbourg and the later plans against Canada. A united Massachusetts enabled Shirley to meet

French movements in an energetic and watchful manner even when the British were "guilty of the criminal negligence which all pacifistic governments display in the face of a war crisis". When the French controlled the seas off Acadia in 1744 "the ministry gave no sign of understanding what was required and, besides being incapable by temperament of aggressive action, was busy with computations of patronage and war cost rather than of troops and ships." In this crisis governor and colony took control of the situation. No few words can do the picture justice. Shirley was one of the best American governors. He grew with his duties despite lack of co-operation from the crown and other colonies, and deserved success. Professor Wood makes this clear, and points out the reasons why full success was not obtained.

An adequate bibliography gives the sources upon which the author has leaned. Most of these were known but all have never been used in one account of the period. As the history continues through the difficult and contentious years to follow, the author will enhance the value of his work by emphasizing its biographical side without neglecting the story of American colonial development as it was influenced by its imperial setting. Interest will increase as Professor Wood traces in his second volume the relative merits of Britain, Shirley, and the colonies throughout the struggle against France in the later years of rivalry in America to 1756, and the closing years of Shirley's life.

C. H. LINCOLN.

*A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865.* Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 298; 281. \$10.00.)

THE chief interest in these letters, and it is very great, is the same for the historian as for the general reader, that of personality. The three writers are all reasonably human, they are all strongly Adamses, and they are sharply distinguished from each other. The father has quite passed the stage where he has to make up his mind on any subject, he is obviously the least able except in the high quality of judgment, and he is dull. A certain blind spot in his mental outlook is indicated by his conjunction of statements: "I think I see in my father the only picture of a full grown statesman that the history of the United States has yet produced" (I. 67), and, that his father had failed "so much as a party-man" (I. 69). One might, in the same way, say of himself that he had all the high qualifications of a diplomat, except that of getting on well with men. Henry is distinctly boyish, pessimistic, exuberant, rash, and repentant. During these years, however, his pose of indifference became hardened, and he found the "experimento-philosophico-historico-progressiveness" (II. 90) which became the basis of his life-philosophy. By far the best letters, however, are those of Charles Francis Junior, who indeed wrote, on entering the

army, "My future must be business and literature, and I do not see why the army should not educate me for both, for its routine is that of business and it will go hard if my pen is idle while history is to be written or events are to be described" (I. 73). The letters, however, give no impression that he is writing for practice. His descriptions of army life are in many ways the best we have, while his discussions of the cotton situation, the race problem, national finance, and similar questions, reveal a wealth of information and a convincing maturity of judgment distinctly superior to what his grandfather John Quincy Adams was doing at the same age.

The special interest of the letters for the historian is not in their revelation of new fact, but in the unique opportunity of seeing the progress of the war through the eyes of three such interesting witnesses, all near, but not quite of, the centre of affairs. All were Seward men, all were anti-British, anti-Southern, and anti-slavery, but curiously enough none were enthusiastic Union men, they had a feeling that they ought to like the West but would not quite stand it, they were ardent supporters of democracy, like all Adamses, their judgments were singularly erroneous with regard to the next moment, but subtle and sound in their long-distance prophecies, they were a little slow in the uptake, slow in entering the war, slow in recognizing Lincoln, but pleasingly candid in admitting error. The reviewer frankly does not believe Charles Francis Junior when he writes, "These men don't care for me personally", for he has always found something lovable in their intense enthusiasms and animosities; no wonder his men thought him "cold, reserved, and formal"—one does not fondle a bull-dog; but any reader will credit him when he says "they do believe in me, they have faith in my power of accomplishing results and in my integrity" (II. 119).

One of the most interesting series of letters is that dealing with the *Trent* affair, when the intensity of feeling on the two sides of the Atlantic was so great as momentarily to carry in different directions the members of the sundered family. Of interest also are the glimpses of negotiations for peace in the spring of 1864, through the two Charles Francis. The embassy seems entirely in the dark during the autumn of 1862, when English policy so nearly turned to recognition, but was remarkably alert in the summer of 1863. Many references are made to John Quincy Adams's suggestion of emancipation by the president's war power, but the proclamation of September 22 is not mentioned, and that of January 1, 1863, is taken rather lightly—unless indeed the letter of August 24, 1863 (II. 76-77) is incorrectly dated—though the effect on English opinion of the change in the basis of the war from union to abolition is recognized.

Perhaps the best illustration of the hard, practical, and often disagreeable wisdom which has always characterized the Adamses, is to be found in their realization of the race problem as distinct from that of slavery. Nothing is more amazing in the recorded thought of the period than the absence of such discussion; in these letters, chiefly in

those of Charles Francis the son, it is one of the leading themes. A letter of April 6, 1862 (I. 124-133), is a careful survey of the problem, and thoughtful references are scattered throughout. He did not love or believe in the negro, he was not an abolitionist such as his father and grandfather; but he hated slavery because of its effect on the white man, and he felt that "The blacks must be cared for or they will perish" (I. 132). He came to have a great belief in the army as a training school for freedom, and when he took command of a negro regiment he thought he saw "immeasurable capacity for improvement" (II. 195).

With regard to the editing, the first point to notice is that these two volumes are "selected from what would fill many volumes" (I. vii). The selection is obviously honest, and, except that one would like the letter of the father in which he speaks of the possibility of demanding his passports (I. 9), it is effective, with plenty of interchange of argument and reply, but very little repetition. The text exhibits the excellent staff work which one expects from the environment of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The reviewer, however, still adheres to the position that he took in a series of reviews of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams* in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, that Mr. Ford under-edits. There are indeed two schools of editing, and these volumes fall in the class where abundant annotation is least necessary. Certain duties, however, the editor owes to the writers and to the users of the letters. The pen slips in the best of hands, and on page 190, line 8 from the bottom, Charles Francis Adams is recorded as writing "imaginable", when he undoubtedly intended to write "unimaginable", and there is no bracket of warning to the reader. On page 194, line 2 from bottom, Charles Francis Junior's omission of a "not" is left unmentioned. Suspicion, once aroused, finds in less certain cases doubt instead of conviction. It is not sufficient to present a perfect text; a clear text should be the editor's contribution. The standard of perfection, moreover, is unattainable. A serious error is the dating and placing of the letter on pages 73-75, as of November 29, 1861, whereas the correct date is probably September 29. It refers to the removal of Frémont as improbable, although it took place on November 6; it refers to a "Fast-day the other day", which was observed on September 26; and there is a long reply to the letter, dated October 15 (pp. 56-60), and a rejoinder to the reply, dated November 5 (pp. 63-64).

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*The Industrial State, 1870-1893.* By ERNEST L. BOGART and CHARLES M. THOMPSON. [Centennial History of Illinois, vol. IV.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission.<sup>1</sup> 1920. Pp. vii, 553. \$2.00.)

IN this production Illinois receives another volume of great value

<sup>1</sup> A second edition of the whole *Centennial History of Illinois*, to be issued by Messrs. A. C. McClurg and Company, of Chicago, is in the press. ED.



in her Centennial series. The period covered (1870-1893) is, as the authors maintain, one of "far reaching importance" and of "solid and enduring progress", in its economic changes. Illinois ceased in that period to be chiefly an agricultural state, and became one of varied industries—mining, transportation, manufacturing, and great urban business enterprises. These activities all came into prominence in the period under review. The political and social influence of these changes are brought out in the volume.

The volume is divided by the two authors into two parts, the chapters on economic development being prepared by Professor Bogart, and the political chapters by Professor Thompson. The authors generously acknowledge valuable help received from their research fellows and assistants in the university, special recognition being given to Mrs. Agnes Wright Dennis, who put in final form the political chapters and was the author of chapter VIII., on New Forces Astir, dealing with the case of the Chicago anarchists and the politics of that time (1886-1892), a chapter which the reviewer feels impelled to say is one of the best in the book. On the Haymarket Riots Mrs. Dennis says that the conviction of Spies, Fischer, Engel, and the others resulted from popular outcry, that the "mob demanded a victim", and that the prosecution was "unable to establish any evidence of even remote personal participation of any of the accused". In this chapter Mrs. Dennis makes suitable, intelligent, and fair recognition of the work and influence of the political radicals of thirty years ago, of men like Alson J. Streeter and Gov. John P. Altgeld. Streeter was unsuccessful as against the routineers of his time, but the Illinois Labor Party platform of 1888, for which Streeter was largely responsible, is shown as a forcible piece of political pioneering, with its demands for government transportation, arbitration instead of strikes, a graduated income tax, woman suffrage, and popular election of United States senators. Since the reviewer well remembers the time when he was roundly reproached for venturing to speak well of Governor Altgeld when the politically orthodox of the day were denouncing him as a "red anarchist" or a "dangerous friend of anarchists", he finds some satisfaction in seeing that this *Centennial History of Illinois* recognizes Governor Altgeld for what he was—one of the greatest and most beneficent governors that Illinois ever had. Mrs. Dennis calls our attention to the fact that Governor Altgeld was among the "first to sow the seed of scientific criminology by his notable work on *Our Criminal Code*"; that he was a man of liberal views on social and economic subjects, appealing to the humanitarian and the laboring man; that he stood for universal education and free religion, and that he was a dreaded foe of extravagance and oppressive trusts and monopolies. Altgeld brought into office Florence Kelley as factory inspector; he established the parole system and the indeterminate sentence; he built great public hospitals; he was a friend of higher education, establishing normal schools, and befriend-



ing and promoting the state university, which dates its modern life and growth from Altgeld's time if not directly from his influence. "His uncompromising love of justice and sympathy for humanity were part of the man", yet it was his fate to bring down upon his head "an avalanche of vituperation such as few public men have ever received", by his pardon of the "anarchists" of the Haymarket riot. Altgeld not only freed the imprisoned men, which he might have done without much obloquy, but in his judicial review of the case he accused the state of the judicial murder of those that had been hanged, and in doing this he knew well that he was sacrificing his political life. All of these things are most creditably brought out in this *Centennial History*.

In the chapter on Greenbackism, it is not clear that the author fully understands the merit of the issue involved in that movement. The words "bad money", "sound money", "fiat money", "cheap money" are still employed like meaningless phrases, as if dear money is always "sound" and cheap money always "bad", as if the inflationists were always for "bad money", the contractionists always for "sound money". However, the chapter, like the others, contains a good recital of facts and events in the period when Governors Beveridge, Oglesby, and Cullom, and E. B. Washburne, John A. Logan, and Joseph Medill were guiding the forces of Republican politics in Illinois. Professor Thompson has also contributed valuable and enlightening chapters on the Constitutional Convention of 1869-1870, Some Aspects of Social Life in Illinois, Liberal Republicanism, and the Development of Art and Letters.

Professor Bogart deals with the economic aspects of the state's history—corn production, animal products, business expansion, railroad transportation, waterways and highways, trade and commerce, manufacturing and mining, and the struggles of organized labor. In this part of the book we find illustrations and tables of statistics and figures of lasting value, showing the distribution of the corn crop, the receipts, expenditures, and taxes of the state, the value and the increase of manufactured products, bank expansion, coal production, railway track mileage, and the opening of waterways. In all these matters the relation of Illinois to the rest of the country is duly considered; no subject is treated as if Illinois were in isolation. Therefore, the problems of finance, of production, transportation, and distribution are given careful and scientific consideration. The closing chapter, on Organized Labor's Protest, following a chapter on the growth of labor organizations, connects the labor movement with its political activities, and thus rounds out the volume as a political, social, and economic history of Illinois for the period under review. This volume, like the others of the series, will be of permanent value to all students of American history. Would that other states were doing as well in preserving and presenting the record of their growth!

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

*American Political Ideas: Studies in the Development of American Political Thought, 1865-1917.* By CHARLES EDWARD MERRIAM, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. iii, 481. \$2.50.)

IN 1903 Professor Merriam published his *History of American Political Theories*, which has recently been reissued without alteration. That work received a cordial welcome as a scholarly production supplying a clearly felt want. From the same pen we now have a companion volume which by its subtitle is described as "Studies in the Development of American Political Thought, 1865-1917".

All historians have found the writing of recent history beset by the difficulty of presenting all the diverse facts which seem to demand mention and at the same time tracing within reasonable compass the clear and logical lines along which development has proceeded. Professor Merriam has not surmounted this difficulty. In his first chapter, entitled the Background of American Thought, he has given us an admirable, but very brief, survey of the forces out of which sprang the political formulas of the period since the Civil War—the reactions of democracy to modern industrial conditions, and the struggles of defenders of the old doctrine of *laissez faire* against the growing demands for public control of railways, trusts, and labor organizations. In his second chapter, entitled Typical Interpretations of Democracy, he has furnished us with an excellent analysis of the movement for the regulation of corporations and of the philosophy of the so-called labor movement with its later developments in the programmes of syndicalism and the Industrial Workers of the World. But, as the book advances, the mode of treatment becomes less and less one of broad interpretation and generalization, and more and more a series of very brief comments upon hundreds of separate books, pamphlets, and magazine articles. This material is, however, classified, and dealt with in separate chapters, which bear the following titles: the Consent of the Governed (in which writings dealing with the suffrage are considered); the Legislative and Executive Powers of Government (in which discussions of legislative processes, proportional representation, direct legislation, and problems of administrative efficiency are commented upon); the Courts and Justice (in which the literature dealing with the attitude of courts to social and "police power" legislation is surveyed); the Responsibility of Judges to Democracy; the Unit of Democratic Organization (in which writings dealing with the development of a stronger nationalism in the United States are summarized); Internationalism, Pacifism, and Militarism; the Political Party and Unofficial Government; Government and Liberty; Systematic Studies of Politics. In conclusion there is an all-too-brief chapter dealing with political ideas as found in American literature—essays, poetry, fiction—and finally, abandoning comments upon particular writings, a summary

of some twenty pages is given in which an attempt is made to indicate what, in fact, have been the outstanding features of political development in the United States since 1865. The most significant features of this development are declared to be a tendency towards concentration of political and economic institutions and a socialization of the state. So well is this summary done, one cannot but regret that Professor Merriam should not have more nearly followed this method throughout the book. Had this been done, we should not have been furnished with so many bibliographical references, but we should have been supplied with a more satisfying survey of the development of political ideas during the period covered.

No uniform style of foot-note references has been followed, and errors in names of the authors cited are not infrequent.

*Theodore Roosevelt and his Time: Shown in his own Letters.* By JOSEPH B. BISHOP. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. xii, 505; vi, 517. \$10.00.)

THESE two fine volumes will be indispensable to the historian of the past half-century, and the documents with which they are replete have no parallel among the writings of American presidents; but they exhibit the art of the official biographer at much less than its best. Mr. Bishop qualified for the task of writing the Roosevelt biography by many years of admiring friendship, during which he enjoyed both the frequent hospitality and the political patronage of his subject. He does not throw himself modestly into the background, content to be the transparent medium of revelation, as Mr. Paine has done in his monumental *Mark Twain*, but he ventures to add his comment upon events, and occasionally his testimony as to character or fact. In his handling of events, other than those fully covered by his source in the Roosevelt archive, he does not reveal the depth of knowledge or breadth of understanding needed by one who would show Theodore Roosevelt against the background of his environment. He may however plead that his editorial policy is that of Roosevelt himself, for the Colonel chose him as biographer, worked with him until death called him, and on at least one occasion advised him: "Let it stand. . . . I am willing to have what I said go into the record unchanged . . ." (I. 19). What the advice might have been if Roosevelt had ceased to approve himself may be inferred. But that contingency never arrived.

The conspicuous gaps in the biography have to do with the actual working papers of Roosevelt's career. Rarely has Mr. Bishop printed, perhaps he did not find, the letters that were themselves part of the transaction, and which do not reveal certainty as to the outcome of events. The wonderful letter to Sir George Otto Trevelyan, upon the African trip, and the long letter to Taft, then secretary of war, upon the Algeiras conference, are monographs by Roosevelt rather than

real letters. A large proportion of the material takes the form of letters explaining to one or another of the correspondents what had been done, and why. They constitute a sort of serial autobiography, and take the place of such a journal as the Adamses wrote, to keep their record safe for posterity. Indeed, it is possible that they testify to the difficulties of the future historian due to the changes in the methods of communication. When Governor Roosevelt wanted to do business with Senator Platt, he breakfasted with him in New York and spoiled little white paper in recording it. Often the Roosevelt version of a talk was written to someone else, but the kind of source-material that enriches our understanding of events is scarce. In Olcott's *McKinley* we have facts saved by the stenographer who listened at some of the White House telephonic conversations; but these are missing here.

The new material contained in these volumes does not change the outlines of the Roosevelt figure. In the *Autobiography*, in innumerable other writings, speeches, and letters, in a wide acquaintance, and continuous controversy, Roosevelt drew his own picture. He was a more engaging personality when acting hot from the new incentive than when explaining the complete correctness of his course. Men who knew him know that he accepted contradiction and correction every day. In his writings there is slight evidence of this; judgments are sweeping and inclusive, and only scoundrels can disagree. The "Ananias" club, from a study of which much can be learned as to the psychology and methods of Roosevelt as a public man, does not even figure in the index of these volumes; but it is known that he himself derived occasional pleasure from the myth, as he did from the cartoons that swirled around his personality.

The Roosevelt character was not one of delicate shadings, but revealed sharp contrasts which did not change with time and remained at his death as they were in his earliest years. The brief sketch allowed to the period before his election as governor of New York (108 pages) is long enough to establish the fundamentals of his disposition. It is consciously brief because Roosevelt has himself so well covered the years in the *Autobiography*. As legislator, and as historian, he had already learned the technique of shouting commonplace virtues with heroic emphasis, and sweeping the other side of argument into the limbo of corruption, denouncing "a timid effort to secure peace", the weakness or folly "which is nationally as bad as a vice, or worse", "the most incalculable wrong" done by "the infernal thieves and conscienceless swindlers". He had learned also that for him the commission of political suicide was the safest of his sports. Those of Roosevelt's critics who believe that he changed his attitude fundamentally in his later years are well refuted in Washburn's biography; the letters given by Mr. Bishop show that Roosevelt did not change his virtues or his inconsistencies.

About one-fourth of the space has been allotted to the period since Roosevelt left the White House, and this constitutes the most difficult phase of his life to appreciate. He was outside the responsibilities of office, and generally on the losing side, though often the right one. It is easy to leap to the conclusion of his enemies that self-seeking and ambition controlled his fight on Taft, his struggle to make something out of the Progressive movement, and his contemptuous opposition to the administration of Woodrow Wilson. The difficulty with this explanation of his course is that his enemies of 1911-1912, who called him anarchist, were among his supporters in 1915-1917, and saw him as the party hope for 1920. The progressive radicals, on the other hand, for many of whom he was a new Moses in 1912, believed themselves disillusioned when he became the spokesman of national morale during the World War. It was the same Roosevelt, but conditions had altered. He was not always consistent in the application of his views, but the views were permanent, and he remained the most American leader of his generation.

Trust in himself was a Roosevelt trait that hardened with the years. When he failed to secure military preferment or to impress with the soundness of his advice an administration that he had fought continuously, he might have pondered with appropriateness the letter that he wrote a dozen years earlier: "When I uphold the hands of the General Staff by taking their recommendations for promotion as against those of any outsider, no matter how influential, no matter how powerful, I am doing my best to prevent our little army from being reduced to a condition which would be only one degree above that to which it would be reduced if I tolerated actual corruption" (I. 444). He might have been more generous than to write to a foreign acquaintance that the reasons for refusing him permission to raise a division "were not connected with patriotism, or with military efficiency" (II. 429). But that was the sort of man he was. The centre of the stage was his by right; at the beginning of his career he had denied Governor Cleveland a share in the credit for the passage of reform laws through the New York legislature. He was too human not to resent being crowded from the stage on which he had played a gallant part. The last epoch of his life was one of disappointment, and through his griefs he saw less truly than was his custom the drift of national events.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*The United States in the World War (1918-1920).* By JOHN BACH McMASTER, Professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania. Volume II. (London and New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1920. Pp. 510. \$3.00.)

In the second and last volume of his history Professor McMaster begins with a chapter on the activities of the German submarines off our

coast and ends with a full account of the rejection of the treaty. Fifty pages cover war work at home and about the same space is given to the part played by America on the fighting front. The remaining six chapters are devoted to the period from the first peace moves or "offensives" to March 19, 1920, when the Senate rejected the treaty and "having no further use for the treaty it was ordered returned to the President". The historical austerity of this concluding sentence is, one may suppose, to be read in the light of the election return.

The method of presentation and the sources used are the same as in the first volume, reviewed in the last April issue. The American press reports are here necessarily supplemented by occasional comments quoted from the foreign press. The *Congressional Record* is also more heavily drawn upon to trace the wearisome senatorial manoeuvres and the countless reservations as they were voted up or down or proposed and rephrased and forgotten. In the long chronicle of the Paris negotiation little use seems to have been made of the material that has come in book form from those who stood somewhat nearer to the negotiators than the rather helpless and unprepared reporters and propagandists.

In thus following the day-to-day reports of the military operations, the peace manoeuvres, and the armistice negotiations the author carries us back to the days of harrowing uncertainties and rumors and sometimes leaves us there as though he himself had been working his material awaiting and summarizing each successive "extra". "According to" this or that paper such and such things were occurring or had occurred. "It was said" in Amsterdam or Switzerland or the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* or the *Tageblatt* that Germany would accept or President Wilson would insist. A rumored German armistice delegation headed by General von Gruenell is given on p. 208 and seven pages and two days later Erzberger, wholly unheralded, is face to face with Foch. Page 204 has two paragraphs based on four "it was said" or "reported", and the reader is as uncertain to-day as to what actually occurred as he was when "Every day brought astonishing news." Two texts of the armistice are given as the press carried them on successive dates from summaries by Wilson and by Foch. Perhaps the method explains the misprints in foreign names (but why Vierick?), and errors such as the American troops crossing the Rhine to Coblenz.

All this day-to-day chronicling, with its rumors, errors, uncertainties, lack of discrimination, will be justified perhaps if it conveys to future readers how a strained and anxious world seized each new rumor or waited the next reply from the temporary head of a great democracy three thousand miles from the battle line.

One thing is reproduced rather well and that is the war psychology in which the approach to peace was made in October and November, 1918. If Mr. McMaster had supplemented newspaper utterances in the United States by definite illustrations of how the opposition leaders



immediately demanded that America should let France and England dictate the terms of peace, how President Wilson appealed for support in terms of a Democratic election, and how the response in the Republican victory seemingly endorsed the utterances of Mr. Roosevelt and Chairman Hays, he would have furnished the proper approach to the treaty controversy. This approach must be through the results of the November election of 1918. One of the queries a historian might well suggest is whether the German losses from all standpoints would not have been less, whether an unconciliated world was not made more certain by the German peace note in October instead of one month later. That note surprised President Wilson as much as the rest of the world. It brought peace in sight at once and enabled the reactionary and imperialistic elements in every land to interpret our domestic election as a repudiation of President Wilson and of all he had said or might do in behalf of a peace of reconstruction and reconciliation. And yet Mr. McMaster does not mention the election of 1918.

The bitter partizan element in the discussion of a treaty about which rational differences of opinion were certain was made determinative by that election. In the ensuing chapters on the treaty controversy this harsh and strident note dominates. This is correct and natural if one recalls the sources from which the chapters are drawn—the press and the Senate debates. The sole mention of the personal tragedy which made it impossible for Mr. Wilson to lead the fight for the treaty is covered by the statement: "This was his last speech; for the next morning, September 26th, at Wichita, the President was forced to abandon his trip."

It is in his summary of current discussion, petty and partizan and uninformed by larger views as it was on either side in the Senate and press, that the author has done his chief and real service. For the future historian and reader it will furnish a picture of the confused mind of America on the eve of a national election and the morrow of a world war. Such readers will seek to explain, as the author does not, why its results are such a curious gloss on Mr. Wilson's words at Paris: "If we return to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this programme [reconstruction and a League of Nations] we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow-citizens." Or perhaps the future explanation will dwell on the strangeness of Mr. Wilson's words in the midst of a world which was making peace under the obsessions of a war psychology.

*Histoire du Canada.* By FRANÇOIS-XAVIER GARNEAU. Cinquième édition, revue, annotée, et publiée avec une Introduction et des Appendices, par son petit-fils HECTOR GARNEAU. Préface de M. GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome II. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. xii, 748. 30 fr.)

No one who has advanced in knowledge of Canadian history beyond



the frontier fringe of manuals, can fail to be familiar with Garneau. It is now nearly two generations since his *Histoire du Canada* was published, and the same qualities that commanded notice then are still a title to respectful attention. In point of preparation Garneau was a true scholar, who sought to collect sound materials, to sift them, and to make them his own. He had an instinct for proportion and a strong sense of fairness. As a writer he gave thought to the problem of modelling, and merits such praise as is due to those who are clear without being bald and dignified without being dull. In brief, his work has won a permanent and honored place in Canadian historiography. It goes without saying that some new sources and much important literature have been made available since the first edition of this work was printed. But no mistake will be made by those who study Garneau before plunging into the monographs—even the best monographs—which begin where he leaves off.

Shortly before the war, Garneau's scholarly and able grandson, M. Hector Garneau, published the first volume of a fifth edition—making his task a labor of love and lavishing upon it all the effort which a just pride could inspire. This volume was reviewed by us on its appearance, and now, after a lapse of some seven years, we are able to comment once more upon the collaboration, so to speak, of grandfather and grandson. There is less exaggeration in the foregoing phrase than at first there might seem to be, for the notes and appendixes to this fifth edition supplement the text most usefully, and henceforth no scholar will ever think of reading Garneau in any earlier edition.

Mr. Hector Garneau's preface gives us an echo of the war in the statement that 256 pages of the present volume were printed as early as July 15, 1914. "Peu après, l'agression allemande se déchainait sur le monde." Thus interrupted, the printer desisted from his task until the war was over—which is quite excusable in view of the fact that the press-work was done in Paris, where other cares were urgent.

As was made plain by the first volume, M. Hector Garneau has taken it for his purpose to furnish an apparatus of notes which will show how and to what extent more recent studies can be co-ordinated with his grandfather's text. But he has by no means limited his field to an intensive study of monographs. Since the days of F.-X. Garneau the publication, editing, and re-editing of materials has gone on apace, with the result that a thorough and scholarly editor can draw many illustrations from new sources or supplement many passages by adding data that were not available during the period which separates the Union of the Two Canadas from Confederation. It is much to the credit of M. Hector Garneau that he has not scamped his work either in respect to the factor which is represented by sources or to that which is represented by the special studies of recent scholars. This edition draws its copious notes from many quarters, yet without giving them an air of aggressive pedantry.

The editor, no less than the author, has need to remember the dictum that art is selection, and in annotating a work which deals broadly with large questions it is not easy to hit the golden mean between parsimony and profusion. To us it seems that M. Hector Garneau has shown great tact in steering his course through this difficult channel, and that he has succeeded in furnishing an apparatus of comment, which, while often minute, is not pedantic, and which in all essential respects is very helpful. As examples of notes which are long enough to disclose something of the editor's personality, and which illustrate the breadth of his reading, we would call attention to that which will be found at the bottom of pages 716-717, as well as to Appendixes I. and XIV. The debate which has long been waged regarding the authorship of Lord Durham's Report could have been made to furnish a further subject for an appendix, but we should be quite unfair if we urged it as an omission that M. Hector Garneau has not supplied brief essays on the striking subjects which are connected with Canadian history from 1712 to 1840.

For F.-X. Garneau himself, the most difficult and delicate period to cover in the *Histoire du Canada* must have been that between 1791 and 1840, marked as it was by the acrimonious strife of races which led up to the disturbances of 1837. Having in full remembrance the rancors of the time when Louis Joseph Papineau was at the height of his influence, and belonging to the race on whose behalf Papineau urged his remonstrance, it could not have been easy for him to depict clearly and to judge impartially the events and characters of that embittered struggle. That he was animated by a spirit of fairness and succeeded in maintaining a tone of *sang-froid* is an outstanding feature of his work. Nowadays the world is filled with clamorous, hard-bitted, highly organized, and relentless minorities, who shriek out ultimatums and declare there shall be no peace on earth until their demands have been met in full, plus compound interest. Having been deafened by these outcries, one turns with relief to the closing words of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*—the words of a man who loved his race, but who also had a sense of proportion and recognized that progress does not have its root in hatred.

Que les Canadiens soient fidèles à eux-mêmes; qu'ils soient sages et persévérants, qu'ils ne se laissent point séduire par le brillant des nouveautés sociales et politiques! Ils ne sont pas assez forts pour se donner carrière sur ce point. C'est aux grands peuples à faire l'épreuve des nouvelles théories; ils peuvent se donner toute liberté dans leurs orbites spacieuses. Pour nous, une partie de notre force vient de nos traditions; ne nous en éloignons ou ne les changeons que graduellement. Nous trouverons dans l'histoire de notre métropole, dans l'histoire de l'Angleterre elle-même, de bons exemples à suivre. Si l'Angleterre est grande aujourd'hui, elle a eu de terribles tempêtes à essuyer, la conquête étrangère à maîtriser, des guerres religieuses à éteindre et bien d'autres traverses. Sans vouloir prétendre à si haute destinée, notre sagesse et

notre ferme union adouciron beaucoup nos difficultés, et, en excitant leur intérêt, rendront notre cause plus sainte aux yeux des nations.

*Pan-Americanism: its Beginnings.* By JOSEPH BYRNE LOCKEY.  
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp.iii, 503. \$5.00.)

In his preface Lockey states that this volume was prepared as an academic task at Columbia University under the direction of Professor John Bassett Moore. The volume bears some earmarks of a treatise prepared by a candidate for the doctorate. Equipped with foot-notes throughout, it contains in addition a serviceable bibliography.

The first chapter is introductory in character and presents the view that from the common struggle for independence by American nations certain principles have been evolved which embody the concept of Pan-Americanism. To support that view excerpts and opinions are presented from the writings of American authors and statesmen chiefly since the age of James G. Blaine. Upon the basis of this survey Lockey expresses the opinion that the principles which lie at the basis of Pan-Americanism are as follows: independence, community of political ideals, territorial integrity, law instead of force, non-intervention, equality, and co-operation. After having thus formulated his definition, in a manner that the reviewer can scarcely designate as historical, Lockey proceeds to consider what he evidently believes to be the beginnings of Pan-Americanism in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.

In a chapter about the formation of the Hispanic-American states Lockey gives an account of the revolutionary movements from 1810 to 1824 that culminated in the emancipation of Spanish America from European domination. Some fifty pages are devoted to a consideration of various "plots" which were formed for the establishment of "monarchical governments" in the basin of the La Plata River and in northern South America. Almost as much space is given to a study of the policy which was pursued by the United States government toward Spanish-American independence. Similar emphasis is accorded to certain international complications which arose partly out of the fact that the sympathies of some citizens of the United States were enlisted in the Spanish-American struggles for independence. Among the topics here investigated are the following: the mission of Manuel H. de Aguirre from the United Provinces of La Plata and Chile to the United States in 1817; the seizure of Amelia Island by Gregor McGregor; the adventures of the United States frigate *Essex* in South American waters; the menace to Hispanic America of the Holy Alliance; and the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. A chapter devoted to the reception of the original Monroe Doctrine in Hispanic America does not really add much important information to that which was conveyed by the reviewer in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly* some years ago. While giving due credit for the diligence with which

Lockey has investigated these topics, and recognizing that at many points his researches will be useful to other students, the reviewer is nevertheless unable to detect many significant relationships between these chapters and Pan-Americanism, as that term is ordinarily understood. In truth they compose a series of studies that deal with the emergence of the Hispanic-American nations. Of varying value, they will furnish a wide orientation to readers who are not acquainted with that great movement: they do not contribute much to our knowledge of Pan-Americanism.

Whatever definition of the term Pan-Americanism one is inclined to adopt, the most pertinent portion of this volume is chapter VII. That chapter describes in some detail certain projects which were formed for continental union in the Three Americas from the end of the eighteenth century to 1825. Among other plans that are described is the project formed about 1797 by that knight-errant of Spanish-American independence, Francisco de Miranda, for the emancipation of his native land. The somewhat provincial ideas of Thomas Jefferson and James Wilkinson about Pan-Americanism are given attention. An odd design of William Thornton for the division of the Three Americas into thirteen commonwealths fashioned to an extent after the Republic of the North is described at some length. The "system" which that champion of the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence, Henry Clay, wished to promote is indicated. Descriptions are given of the ideas of certain South-American leaders about the relations between the Hispanic-American states. The plan of a Chilean called Martínez de Rosas for the international organization of the Americas is interestingly described, as well as the notion of his compatriot, Juan Egaña, about a Spanish-American confederation. Here also are presented the views of a talented native of Buenos Aires named Mariano Moreno about a federation of the Spanish-American peoples. Special attention is appropriately paid to the opinions of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, concerning the international relations of the Hispanic-American nations. A description is furnished of significant treaties which an agent of Great Colombia negotiated with the governments of Peru and Chile.

The chapters which follow are concerned with a related topic—the Panama Congress. That congress was composed of the delegates of certain nations of Spanish America who gathered in June and July, 1826, upon the Isthmus of Panama. The actions of an informal agent who was sent by Canning to observe that congress are described with details that are new to English readers. Considerable attention is next devoted to the attitude of the United States government to the Panama Congress, an episode of our international relations which is comparatively well known. The postures assumed in regard to the congress by the governments of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are investigated. In so far as these chapters deal with an international assembly to which,

after a long debate, the United States Congress finally declined to send delegates, they may be said to treat of what is often designated Pan-Americanism.

To students of early Pan-Americanism the last part of Lockey's volume has a special interest. Notice should be taken, however, that when viewed in the light of a definition of Pan-Americanism which describes it as a tendency upon the part of the American nations to associate themselves together, a considerable portion of the material here presented is concerned not with Pan-Americanism, but with what may be strictly termed Hispanic-Americanism; namely, a tendency displayed by American nations of Spanish and of Portuguese origin to group themselves together. References which Lockey makes to Spanish-American writers indeed suggest the conjecture that possibly he suspected that he was sometimes dealing with what might be called Spanish-Americanism.

Investigators in the field of the international relations of the Hispanic-American states will welcome this volume which explores some of its obscure corners; but the student of Pan-Americanism, as that term is ordinarily understood, will not encounter much of vital interest until he has persued about one-half of Lockey's book.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1917.* (Washington, 1920, pp. 464). The annual meeting reported upon in this volume is that which was held in December, 1917, at Philadelphia, the thirty-third annual meeting of the Association. The report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which occupies some seventy pages of the volume, consists of a body of letters of General Santa Anna relating to the war between the United States and Mexico. These letters, which are of much interest and importance, are contributed by the chairman of the commission, Dr. Justin H. Smith, who found them in the Archivo General de Guerra y Marina in Mexico. Nearly all are addressed to the minister of war. They extend from Santa Anna's return to Mexico from Cuba in August, 1846, until his arrival at the capital in May, 1847, to make his final stand against the American troops, after which there was no further occasion for correspondence with the minister of war. The report of the Public Archives Commission comprises, besides the usual proceedings of the annual conference of archivists, a full report on the archives of Idaho, by Professor Thomas M. Marshall. Of other formal reports, the most extensive is that of the conference of teachers of history, which centred around a paper on the school course in history by Professor Henry Johnson of Teachers College, Columbia University. Besides these formal records and Mr. Worthington C. Ford's presidential address on the Editorial

Function in United States History, the volume contains three papers on medieval English financial history (one on Early Assessments for Papal Taxation for English Clerical Incomes, by Professor William E. Lunt, one on the Assessment of Lay Subsidies, 1290-1332, by Professor James F. Willard, and one on English Customs Revenue up to 1275, by Professor Norman S. D. Gras); a paper on the Association (meaning the signed agreement to pursue a given course of public action), by Dr. J. F. Jameson; an investigation of the question, To What Extent was George Rogers Clark in Military Control of the Northwest at the Close of the American Revolution, by Professor J. A. James, an account of Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870, read before the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association, by Professor Franklin D. Daines, and a brilliant survey by Professor William A. Dunning, A Generation of American Historiography, reviewing developments in our science and art since the foundation of the Association in 1884.

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.* Fourth Series, vol. II. (London, the Society, 1919, pp. ii, 247.) Eight papers constitute this volume. Professor Oman's presidential address considers, in a comparative manner and with much wisdom, the difficult question of National Boundaries and Treaties of Peace. The next article is a composite of contributions intended to present a conspectus of the fate of British and Allied Archives during the War, though in some cases the papers say little of this, but go over the whole story of the respective national archives. Communications are included respecting the archives of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, United States, Italy (chiefly relating to Italia Irredenta), and the Vatican archives. Miss Rose Graham presents an excellent account of the Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Worcester by Archbishop Winchelsey in 1301, and of the ensuing struggle with Bishop Godfrey Giffard and his clergy. Mr. Walter W. Seton studies the later Relations of Henry, Cardinal York, with the British Government, chiefly with the aid of recently discovered papers of Sir John Coxe Hippisley, chief agent in the securing of the cardinal's pension. Mr. Godfrey Davies studies the conduct of the Whigs in respect to the Peninsular War. Sir R. A. Gregory presents a paper on Science in the Interest of Civilization. Mr. G. W. T. Omond gives an excellent account of the Question of the Netherlands in 1829-1830. Sir Harry L. Stephen studies from a legal point of view the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, in a paper read at the society's tercentenary commemoration of Raleigh.

*The History of the Chalcidic League.* By Allen Brown West. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, no. 969.] (Madison, 1918, pp. 176, \$0.40.) We have here a detailed study of the Chalcidians in Thrace. At the time of the Persian War they were a cluster of little walled towns; but even so their family sense, as children of Chalcis,



was so strongly marked that "they issued a common coinage and acted together in time of crisis". That they were really colonies of Chalcis in Euboea, and not an *ethnos* like their neighbors the Bottiaeans, West upholds against Harrison, *Classical Quarterly*, VI., emphasizing the point that their coins have the Chalcidic form of gamma. In 432 B.C., on revolting from Athens, they removed from their towns on the coast, to Olynthus, a site taken from the Bottiaeans in 479 B.C. Thereafter their city was Olynthus, their name Chalcidians; how explain this oddity? West makes Olynthus the head of a Chalcidic League, to which he refers all the activities ascribed by Thucydides to "the Chalcidians"; what occurred in 432-416 B.C. was accordingly a *synoecismus* in a narrower area and the formation of a confederacy in a larger. It was this same League (*κοινόν*) whose expansion at the expense of Macedon and its Greek neighbors during the Corinthian War caused Sparta to intervene in 382-379 B.C., and whose attempt, after being restored in 377 B.C., to play an independent rôle between Athens and Macedon led to the extirpation of the "Chalcidic stock" by Philip II. in 348 B.C.

The Chalcidic League, according to West, was probably a conscious or unconscious imitation of the Boeotian League, and the question is raised by him whether it did not also have a sovereign representative council. Swoboda, on the other hand, whose excellent treatment of this theme, *Griechische Staatsaltertümer*, pp. 212 ff., West does not mention, brings the Chalcidic League into the same category as the Achaean, and, arguing from the mention of "the *demos* of the Olynthians" by Xenophon (V. 2, 17), concludes that the Chalcidians were a democracy and had a general federal-primary assembly. Here is a point which needs discussion.

It is a characteristic of West's book, which displays industry and acumen, and contains good promise for future investigations, that he takes no account of the Grote, Thirlwall, Freeman *History of Federal Government*, pp. 149 ff., controversy as to the policy and government of the Chalcidians, and that he does not include in his meagre bibliography works like Francotte's *Formation des Villes, des États, des Confédérations, et des Liges dans la Grèce Ancienne*, and Bruno Keil's *Griechische Staatsaltertümer*, § 10.

W. S. FERGUSON.

*Schools of Gaul: a Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire.* By Theodore Haarhoff, Lecturer in Latin at the University of Cape Town. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. xii, 272, \$5.65.) The author of this interesting essay limits his period to the interval between the defeat of the Franks by Julian in 358 and their rise under Chlodowig in 486: an age—like our own—of transition; a country facing the problem of complex nationality and menaced by "Bolshevism". After an introductory



consideration of Gallic culture before the fourth century—(pp. 1–38)—the Greek influence emanating from Massilia, the Druids, the wandering sophist, the power of the Christian religion, and Autun, “the Latin university of Gaul”—he proceeds to discuss separately and in great detail Pagan Education with its centres at Bordeaux and Trier (pp. 39–150), and Christian Education (pp. 151–197), concluding with a chapter on certain general educational ideas and influences (pp. 198–239), and another on the Decline of Education (pp. 240–261).

Professor Haarhoff states that the ultimate attitude of the Church in saving pagan culture “is the determining factor of Christian education, and it forms the background without which that education cannot be rightly studied”. On the other hand, “in its development of elementary education, in its *rusticitas*, in its greater concentration on thought, and in its emphasis on practical work, Christian education in fifth-century Gaul was in reaction against the brilliant but superficial schools of the previous century.”

The book is a scholarly piece of work, based mainly on the original sources but also taking full account of the secondary literature of the subject. It contains a “select bibliography” of three pages, and an excellent index.

The reviewer is of the opinion that the author assumes a knowledge of Greek and Latin on the part of his readers that many who are interested in the subject so ably treated in his book may not possess; for the benefit of this wider public it might have been well to translate the frequent quotations, relegating the original languages to the foot-notes.

*Schools of Gaul* is a valuable contribution to the literature of an interesting period of the world's history.

CHARLES C. MIEROW.

*Les Traditions Techniques de la Peinture Médiévale.* Par G. Loumyer. (Brussels and Paris, G. Van Oest et Cie., 1914 [1920], pp. 230.) M. Loumyer's book is a model of painstaking scholarship. The work is divided into three parts. The first discusses the treatises on technique in the classic and medieval periods. The second describes the evolution of technical processes from the Egyptian period to the Renaissance. The third deals with the colors used in the Middle Ages, their chemical composition, manufacture, and geographical origin.

Every part proves wide reading and painstaking correlation of authorities on the part of the author, yet the whole does not impress one as original. No manuscript seems to have missed M. Loumyer's eye, no treatise on the technique of medieval painting is unread or unmentioned, yet the work is one of synthesis rather than research. For instance, in discussing such questions as the date of the manual of Heraclitus or the book of Theophilus, the writer gives us the opinions of various authorities, carefully referring to each in the admirably full

foot-notes, and then follows the opinion of Ilg almost without comment. He never argues for himself, but is content to state the facts and the beliefs of others, and then select the opinion that seems to him most convincing.

In general the author shows more familiarity with Northern art than with Italian, and at times he gives the impression of having regarded books and manuscripts far more closely than the paintings that they describe. For example, after discussing the technique of *buon fresco*, he speaks of it as the method employed by "les Buonarotti, les Jules Romain, les Corrège". It is unfortunate to associate Giulio Romano with Michelangelo and Correggio even though he did follow the later sixteenth-century method of avoiding as far as possible any retouching of a fresco *a secco*, after the plaster had dried. Indeed the whole treatment of this important question is unsatisfactory. M. Loumyer records Cennino's description of the technique of *fresco a secco*, and Vasari's condemnation of it, but he does not give us any searching discussion as to what painters practised the technique, nor how nor when it came to be abandoned.

The book, however, is a valuable one. It is a really up-to-date synthesis, and this is often more valuable than attempted originality. The descriptions of the colors are terse and clear. Though the author apologizes for it, the short chapter on oil painting in the Middle Ages is admirable, and needed when so many critics still persist in the statement that oil painting was in large measure an invention of the Van Eycks. The book contains an exhaustive bibliography and an unusually complete index. It is a pity, however, that all references to page-numbers should have been omitted from the table of contents.

G. H. EDGELL.

*A Short History of the Italian People, from the Barbarian Invasions to the Attainment of Unity.* By Janet Penrose Trevelyan. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920, pp. xiii, 580, \$5.00.) Mrs. Trevelyan has written an interesting book for the lay reader, but it is a short history of the Italian peninsula and not what the title purports. The writer has given us a well connected series of sketches of emperors, popes, tyrants, and patriots, of the leading cities, duchies, and monarchies, of their actions and reactions from the time of Diocletian through the *Risorgimento*; and the epilogue supplies the reader with the bare facts of the course of internal development and of the foreign relations of the monarchy to the entry into the war in 1915. There is a bibliography for each of the eight chapter-groups into which the period from 285 to 1870 is traditionally divided—an ill-arranged but fairly comprehensive bibliography of secondary authorities "recommended to the student".

The book is admirably written and will always be of considerable value to the traveller eager to know the Italian political background.

There is nothing of the social and economic life of the people in it. Indeed, the writer's economic point of view is perhaps illustrated by the citation of Gibbon's reckoning of the value of the pound of gold in 408 A.D. at £40 sterling (p. 19). The poorest part of the book is that dealing with events to 1250, although even there the work is singularly free from even minor errors on intricate problems; still we might have been spared a repetition of the fable of the year 1000. The best chapters in the book are the last three, dealing with the *Risorgimento*. They are excellent. Throughout the book there are brilliant little touches culled occasionally from unusual sources: one learns that in Napoleon's time a Calabrian magnate was wont to speak of Cassiodorus with fond familiarity as *quel gran signorone*.

For the scholar the book will have no interest, nor was it meant to have any, but for the casual reader of history it will be far more interesting than any other work of its scope and kind.

E. H. B.

*Origines de la Normandie et du Duché d'Alençon de l'An 580 à l'An 1085.* Par le Vicomte du Motey. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1920, pp. ix, 327, 25 fr.) The southern border of Normandy, where the country lay open toward Maine and Anjou, was a constant source of difficulty to the Norman dukes, who faced here for generations the powerful and semi-independent dynasty of the counts of Bellême. The early history of this region has been attempted in detail by Vicomte du Motey, an active member of that Société Historique et Archéologique de l'Orne which is one of the most vigorous of departmental societies. Armed with enthusiasm and much local knowledge, he dissects the chroniclers and certain of the charters with the general aim of putting the border territory into its right relations to the history of Normandy, and with the more special purpose of rescuing the house of Bellême from what he considers the misrepresentations of its principal historian, Ordericus Vitalis. Ordericus is not a contemporary authority for the early history of this family, any more than is William of Jumièges whom he interpolates, and one may well admit the existence in his pages of a considerable amount of doubtful tradition colored by the interests of his monastery; but a sound conclusion is possible only when his narrative has been tested throughout, point by point, after the excellent example set by Prentout in the case of Dudo of St. Quentin. Any one familiar with Ordericus would expect the result of such an examination to be much more favorable to him than to his predecessor. Such a study requires a more intensive use of charters, which become less rare under Duke Richard II. These would disprove at once the assertion (p. 85) that the title of duke, which is found in unquestioned originals of the Conqueror's father and grandfather, was not borne till after the conquest of England.

C. H. H.

*The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by James Tait, M.A. Part I. [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, vol. LXXIX., new series.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1920, pp. 1, 256, ix.) The chartulary of the abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, is not strictly speaking a chartulary but rather a list of the documents preserved by the abbey, with an unusually full abstract of the contents of each document. Professor Tait with great industry has gone a good way toward making it a chartulary by recovering the texts of many of the documents from various sources, both printed and manuscript, and inserting them in place of the original abstracts. The book bears evidence on every page of the great editorial labor and pains which have been bestowed upon it. The present reviewer does not possess the local knowledge necessary to criticize the accuracy of the larger part of the editor's work, but those things of which he can judge seem admirably done. It may be added that the editor has not given results merely. He has revealed his method of work so fully, has discussed in such detail the means he has used to overcome all sorts of difficulties, palaeographical, chronological, topographical, and biographical, as to make the book almost a text-book for instruction in the methods proper for this kind of historical investigation.

Text and notes are well filled with the local and genealogical information for which English scholars naturally esteem so highly books of this kind. In the way of general historical information, especially concerning institutional matters, for which chartularies are usually among our most valuable sources, there is very little to be found. The "*Carta communis Cestrisirie*", the Magna Carta of Cheshire, granted by Earl Ranulf in 1215 or 1216, is well worth study and comparison with John's Magna Carta. It gives information in regard to the private courts and local "liberties" of the palatinate, something as to procedure, feudal rights, military service, forests, and the earl's sergeants. On these same subjects further information is given in other documents and one is led to the conclusion that, as the earl enjoyed more extensive rights than the normal English earl, so the barons of the palatinate in a number of particulars enjoyed greater liberties and somewhat wider rights than the ordinary rear-vassals of England in respect to their lords.

There is in this collection a rather larger proportion than usual of documents coming from ecclesiastical sources. On two ecclesiastical subjects a good deal of information is given: on the appropriation of a church made to the monastery, the establishment of a vicarage, and the division of the revenues of the church between the vicar and the convent; and on the assignment of specific revenues, revenues from specific properties, to different activities of the monastery and to different charities.

*An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England.* By Edward P. Cheyney, Professor of European History in the University of Pennsylvania. Revised edition. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xiii, 386, \$2.60.) In the second edition of this favorite handbook, practically no change has been made in the description of what happened before 1820. The results of recent investigation thus fail to appear. Usually, perhaps, these are not of sufficient importance to warrant incorporation in a general survey. Yet the writings of Savine and Tawney, to take one instance, are fundamental enough, in so far as they shift the *onus* of the sixteenth-century agrarian revolution from enclosures to certain forms of tenure. At least they deserve note in the bibliography, which has been otherwise enlarged.

The account of developments since 1820 has been rearranged and expanded. Sometimes, when the paragraphs of the first edition have been incorporated, a subject has not been brought up to date. So it is with small holdings; but this is exceptional. In the rearrangement, however, it is not certain that the topics, admirably treated as they are in themselves, follow in the happiest sequence. The years 1833-1835, for example, mean for us the definitive awakening of the English government to a responsibility for factory inspection and for the reform of the poor law, while, at the same time, self-help finds expression in ephemeral trade-unions, inspired by Owenite ideals. Following these years in explicable succession came the depression of the late thirties, the hopes of Chartism, the movement toward free trade, and the beginnings of cautious unionism. Whatever logic there is in this sequence we miss in Professor Cheyney's treatment. For he introduces us to the free-trade movement, reverts to the poor law, advances to Chartism, retreats to the factory laws and Robert Owen, while in a later chapter, after we have been carried beyond 1850, he returns to the progress of trade-unionism, without differentiating very clearly the two periods of early growth. In part, the arrangement may result from the conception, indicated by the chapter headings, that the years from 1820 to 1848 were dominated by the "Individualist Ideal" and the years from 1848 to 1878 by the "Spirit of Combined Action". While without doubt these phrases do, in a general way, contrast the respective periods, it is no less true that there was a collectivist spirit in certain strata of society during the first of them (witness Owen, the early unions, and Chartism) and no lack of individualist ideal persisting during the second. For it was then, as the Webbs think, that the unions themselves were more or less won to the industrial individualism of the middle classes, abandoning their earlier communist aspirations. Nor would any trade-unionist admit that profit-sharing, described by Professor Cheyney under the second caption, is a manifestation of the spirit of combined action. All of which suggests that the generalizations in question do not readily adapt themselves to a temporal sequence. The caption of the next chapter, too, Liberal Influence on Industrial Life, 1878-1896,

is not altogether convincing. During eleven of these years a Conservative ministry was in control and for a considerable time the world of labor was reactionary.

These captious criticisms, however, can in no way apply to the sound and satisfying presentation of all topics in and of themselves. And they can but throw into relief the entirely happy chapter with which the book closes. This record of the activities of the Liberal government of 1905-1914 gives what is not readily accessible in compact form elsewhere and gives it with the lucidity and good judgment which characterize the book throughout.

H. L. GRAY.

*England under the Yorkists, 1460-1485.* By Isobel D. Thornley, M.A., Assistant in the Department of History, University College, London. With a preface by A. F. Pollard. [University of London Intermediate Source-Books of History, no. II.] (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920, pp, xx, 280.) "The immediate object of this volume, and of the series which it inaugurates, is of a practical character. It is to remove some of the difficulties which beset students, teachers, and examiners in connection with the original texts prescribed as part of the Intermediate course and examination in history in the University of London." The second object "is to provide a different if not a wider public with a sort of introductory library of English historical sources, particularly with a view to illustrating those periods which are commonly but erroneously supposed to be poor in original records. The two objects are not incompatible". The first of these quotations is from Professor Pollard's preface to *Illustrations of Chaucer's England*, edited by Dorothy Hughes (London and New York, 1918), and the second is from his preface to the book under review. *Pace* Professor Pollard, the two objects are not quite compatible. Thus the space allotted to political history—largely intrigue—in Miss Thornley's book (pp. 1-135) is excessive for the enlightened general reader, but probably quite defensible for the students in the course—presumably mainly political—for whom the book is primarily prepared. Constitutional matters get pages 136 to 179. The section covering ecclesiastical affairs (pp. 180-197) is devoted, as is the corresponding section in Miss Hughes's volume, to the growth of heresy or to church abuses. This may be in harmony with the necessary limitations of the course which the book accompanies, but it is a pity from the viewpoint of the general reader, curious about the normal, healthy, religious life of men and women in the Middle Ages. One might as well try to understand the religious life of the members of the Church of England in the later nineteenth century by confining one's self to the conflicts among High, Broad, and Low. The section on economics and social affairs (pp. 198-252) will be the most satisfying to the general reader. Here for the first time he is released—at least in large part—from the sordid,

truculent, sycophantic atmosphere of Yorkist politics, and breathes the purer air of healthy, workaday life. All the material in the book is in English. Much of it is necessarily translated from foreign tongues, but much of it is in the original fifteenth-century English—an English which might well sharpen the shears of the reforming spellers, now happily quiescent. The “brief account of sources” (pp. xi–xix) is a capital exhibition of bibliographical guidance, especially to printed sources, and students of English medieval history should not pass it by. Miss Thornley has executed her task skilfully—even unto the index.

G. C. S.

*Catalogue or Bibliography of the Library of the Huguenot Society of America.* Compiled by Julia P. M. Morand. (New York, privately printed by Mrs. James M. Lawton, 1920, pp. xi, 351.) Printed sources dealing with the Huguenots in France or America are so difficult to obtain in this country, and even sometimes in Paris, that the investigator will welcome this somewhat carefully analyzed bibliography with its dictionary and fifteen class-catalogues. Genealogy naturally predominates, with about twice the number of pages allotted to any other subject.

Of manuscripts of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, twenty-three appear, most of them originals; and nine printed proclamations of Louis XIV. or his council against the Huguenots. There are reprints of the *Registers* (lists of baptisms, admissions, marriages, deaths) of Caen, 1560–1562, of Loudun (misspelled “Loudin”, p. 309), 1566–1582, and of French churches in the Hague, Dublin, New Paltz, Sleepy Hollow, and New York, and of at least nine Dutch Reformed churches in America. Less adequate is the representation of Huguenot literature on church government and politics written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of fifty or sixty titles of books of this sort, less than half are here catalogued, and of these almost all are already available in either the Prince, Athenaeum, Harvard, Congregational House (Boston), Cornell, McAlpine Collection (Union Seminary), or Library of Congress. In these, or the libraries in London or Paris, especially the remarkable collection of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, must be painfully and sometimes vainly sought such notable authors as Bayle, Cordier, de Vigny, Hotman, Jurieu, Languet, Mornay, Louis du Moulin, and a score of less known but widely read Huguenot writers, who developed and spread political theories of representative government and resistance to tyranny. The painstaking catalogue makes one first expectant, then somewhat disappointed, and finally wishful that what ought to be the best Huguenot library in America should more adequately supply the rare Huguenot books so needful for understanding the contribution of that element in American life.

H. D. FOSTER.



*Extracts from the Newcastle upon Tyne Council Minute Book, 1639-1656.* [Publications of the Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee, vol. I.] (Published by the Committee, 1920, pp. xxiii, 243.) This little volume of extracts from the Newcastle Council Minute Book, 1639-1656, is the first of a contemplated annual series of records relating to Durham, Northumberland, and Newcastle upon Tyne, to be published under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne. Miss Madeleine Hope Dodds, one of the joint authors of the excellent *Pilgrimage of Grace* (1915), has made the transcripts, written the introduction, and prepared the index. The editing is well done, though, while most of the items speak for themselves, an exploratory note here and there would have been helpful. Miss Dodds informs us that "The Corporation naturally practised discretion as to what they wrote down in black and white. There are no entries during the years of the Civil War, and no reference to the execution of Charles I. The interest of the record lies in the minute local detail, showing how the life of the town struggled on through dangerous and unprofitable times." In the opinion of the reviewer the first part of this statement is a bit misleading, since, August 19, 1642, the Council lent the King £700, accompanied by a softly circumspect but, nevertheless, loyal petition; on September 7 they made the royalist Earl of Newcastle a free burgess of the town; and one year later they disfranchised a number of burgesses for being "incendiaries" and "treating with several men of another nation to invade the kingdom". After 1644 they had experienced a change of heart, or were taking a safer tack, for we find them disfranchising "delinquents", reversing their action in the case of the Earl of Newcastle, and recalling a clergyman whom they had once expelled for non-conformity. Within a few years they had evidently made a clean sweep of Episcopacy; there were "flower ministers of the Presbyterian and two of the Congregationall judgement settled to the generall liking and satisfaction of the whole Towne".

However, the main interest of the records is local. We learn somewhat of local prices and salaries, including the usual exiguous provision for schoolmasters, and incidentally in this connection, the corporation showed a curious tenderness about calling from Berwick a teacher whom that municipality was desirous to retain. Need of more widespread education is manifest from the fact that among the signatures of the councillors occasional marks appear. The town treasury seemed to be usually "in a very low condicion", yet it is interesting to note that, so late as 1654, they voted 5 shillings a day to a representative in Parliament at a time when payment of members had all but fallen into disuse. The primitive character of municipal sanitation is indicated by the fact that it was left to each householder to have a weekly clean-up about his premises. Perhaps the most curious item is the petition of a modest alderman who desired to resign, because "the holding of this said place was a Burthen to his Conscience in regard he could not execute the

same". While there is no material of startling moment in these *Minutes* it all helps, in some degree at least, to illuminate our knowledge of the history and life of the period.

A. L. C.

*Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham.* By Harold J. Laski. [Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, no. 103.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company; London, Williams and Norgate, 1920, pp. 323, 90 cents.) As a volume in the *Home University Library* Mr. Laski's book naturally calls for consideration first from the point of view of the person for whom the volumes of the library are primarily designed, the lay reader. For him one fears that Mr. Laski in his first chapter—an advance summary of his volume—has laid down a *pons asinorum*. In this chapter, strung on a loose paragraph structure, are some seventeen pages of allusive epigram that make difficult reading even for one who knows something of the subject. In these first pages the way of the novice will be hard.

This danger-zone once passed the reading is easy. There is an excellent summary of Locke, though one might question the statement on page 58 that "Sidney apart, the resistance they [Locke's predecessors] had justified was always resistance to a religious tyrant"; there is an admirable study of the nonjurors and of the Bangorian controversy. Bolingbroke is set down at what one feels to be nearly his true political value. The influence of Montesquieu on Blackstone, of Rousseau on Priestley and Price, of DeLolme are all considered. There is a long study of Burke, portrayed by Mr. Laski as the champion of India, America, and Ireland against political oppression and abuse of power and the defender against innovation of the aristocratic system of government responsible for those very excesses. Last of all there is a well-weighed and judicial estimate of Adam Smith. As to interpretations of theory there is, of course, endless opportunity to differ with these; but they are always stimulating and in no case obviously unsound.

There remains the unpleasant duty of noting the most serious fault of the book, its genius for petty inaccuracies. These are of various sorts—inaccuracies of details, such as, on page 56, saying that Glaucon debated with Socrates in the market-place of Athens, a blunder that grates on a lover of the *Republic*. It was not "Mr. Martin of North Carolina" (p. 71) who was to find Locke quotable in the debates of the Philadelphia Convention. There are inaccuracies as well deriving from overhasty statements. The first sentence, "The eighteenth century may be said to begin with the revolution of 1688, for with its completion the Dogma of Divine Right disappeared from English politics", appears inexact to Mr. Laski himself when he is not generalizing, as reference to pages 84 and 156 will show. The phrase on page 97, "most of them [pamphlets on the religious controversy] deserve the complete obliquity into which they have fallen", is distressing. It is

unpleasant to have to indicate this besetting vice of inaccuracy in what is otherwise a stimulating book.

THEODORE C. PEASE.

*La Noblesse de France et l'Opinion Publique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par Henri Carré, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Poitiers. (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1920, pp. 650, 20 fr.) There is a strange fascination about the story of the downfall of a great social class like the French nobility, especially when it becomes in part the artificer of its own fate. Some aspects of the story have long been familiar, but M. Carré has given it more comprehensively than his predecessors, describing in detail the course of public opinion. About half the volume is devoted to the situation in the Old Régime, and the remainder to the Revolution, with a brief treatment of the partial restoration of the nobility during the Consulate and the Empire. For his material the author has drawn upon correspondence, memoirs, and the literature of the period, especially plays. An unusually full bibliography shows how extensive his inquiry has been.

Even in those parts of the volume which delineate the nobility as a social class and which explain how it changed as the century drew towards a close, the emphasis seems to be upon its privileges, defects, and vices, rather than upon the positive contribution which certain of its members, at least, made to the progress of French national life. This is doubtless inevitable, if the principal aim is to account for the tendencies of public opinion, which had become so violent by the time of the Revolution that M. Carré calls that section of his volume "Guerre à la Noblesse".

It is not astonishing that the revolutionaries found it easier to recall the exploits of a Lauzun than the beneficences of a Liancourt. M. Carré shows how public opinion in Paris in 1790 boiled over upon the publication of the *Livre Rouge*, with its long lists of pensions, gratuities, and favors. Apropos of the millions given to the Count of Provence and his brother, Artois, to pay their debts, he quotes Loustalot, who wrote in the *Révolutions de Paris*, "Français, lisez le *Livre Rouge*, ce répertoire de forfaits. Il est heureux que le Roi n'ait que deux frères: le peuple va désirer qu'il n'en ait jamais eu . . ." Then there was the case of Marie Antoinette's friend, the Comtesse de Polignac, who in 1779 received 800,000 livres for her daughter's dowry, 400,000 for her own debts, and a promise of an estate with 35,000 income. The evil was almost as great under Louis XVI., when the country was drifting towards bankruptcy, as in the time of his unedifying grandfather.

Public opinion at first distinguished between the court and the provincial nobility, praising the provincials because they lived on their estates. The Paris radicals did not realize how tenaciously these provincials clung to feudal titles and distinctions. When the true situation be-

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came apparent, after the legislation against feudalism, the provincial nobility was included in the general condemnation which befell the rest of the order.

M. Carré takes issue with Taine's often accepted estimate that the nobility numbered 130,000. He finds that the basis of this calculation, namely the number of those who voted directly or by proxy in seven provinces in the elections to the States General, was defective. It omits two or three minor categories of nobles as well as those who abstained from voting. M. Carré himself inclines to the estimate made by the Marquis de Gouy d'Arsy in 1790, which was 400,000.

If this estimate be accepted, M. Carré points out that in spite of the ferocity with which the nobles were pursued during the Revolution only three per thousand were executed, or about a tenth of the total number of victims from 1789 to 1799. At Paris a quarter of those executed were noble, in Bordeaux a sixth.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

*Storm van 's Gravesande, zijn Werk en zijn Leven; uit zijne Brieven opgebouwd.* Door J. A. J. de Villiers, Secretaris van de Hakluyt Society. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1920, pp. viii, 416, maps and facsimiles, 15 gld.) This handsome volume is yet another fruit of the Anglo-American controversy over the Venezuela-Guiana boundary. Its author, a South African by birth but long a member of the British Museum's staff of scholars, is the investigator and translator to whose able pen the English government mainly entrusted the Dutch documents so important to that controversy. Among these, and not least in importance, were the detailed letters received by the Dutch West India Company from Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, whose long service in Dutch Guiana (1738-1772) made him the best-informed and most efficient spokesman of the Dutch claims since inherited by Great Britain.

It would have been a pity if this correspondence of the fine old Dutch governor, engineer, and explorer as well as administrator, had remained accessible only in the extracts and the publications of an international lawsuit; and already in 1911 the Hakluyt Society, of which Mr. de Villiers is the secretary, published in English, under his editorship and that of Mr. C. A. Harris, his colleague in the work for the British boundary-case, two volumes of these despatches of Storm (see vol. XVI., p. 838, of this review). But no translation into English was adequate to satisfy the governor's Dutch countrymen and those who read their speech. On March 4 of that same year 1911 Mr. de Villiers delivered at the Hague before Queen Wilhelmina and her mother an address which rendered into Dutch the outline of the story; and now this volume, dedicated "to Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands", puts into that tongue the whole work and something more. For Mr. de Villiers has searched once more and fruitfully the bulky correspondence for aught that throws more light upon Storm's life and work—his

generous fellow-editor (now Sir Charles Alexander Harris, governor of Newfoundland) relinquishing all share in this new publication.

To the loss of this colleague is perhaps due the silent disappearance of the more polemic paragraphs of the English volumes. From the historical introduction is dropped the contested story of the Essequibo colony from its foundation in the earlier seventeenth century to the eve of Storm's arrival; and in the account of his own dealings with the outposts and with the Spanish neighbors little is left that could give ground for protest. Still, indeed, a foot-note (p. 152) interprets in a way more creditable to later British claims than to Storm's information or insight his report as to the advancing Capuchin missions, and with no mention of the evidence adduced against this view. Still, too, the appended map, a somewhat simplified translation of that prepared for the English work, perpetuates myths unknown to the volume's letter-press. But such survivals of the old dispute are few. For the most part Mr. de Villiers is content to let Storm tell his own story, adding only the notes required for intelligent study. His book is a monument to his own scholarly sincerity and self-restraint as well as to the manly old statesman whose words it preserves for us.

GEORGE L. BURR.

*The Relations of French and English Society, 1763-1793.* By C. H. Lockitt, M.A., Head Master of Bungay School, East Suffolk. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920, pp. x, 136, \$2.50.) Mr. Lockitt has ransacked certain contemporary sources (mainly letters, memoirs, diaries) with commendable industry for information about English and French society during the quarter-century before the Revolution. The "society" which emerges from these sources is of course mainly upper-class society; and the "relation" which is here described is mainly a relation effected through the actual intercourse of the upper classes in the two countries. Mr. Lockitt compares and contrasts the manners, tastes, and ideas of these classes in the two countries, endeavors to indicate the changes, what he calls the "revolution", that occurred in these matters during the period in question, and closes with a consideration of the effect of the Revolution on the attitude of Englishmen towards France. The appendix contains a useful compilation of the names of Englishmen who visited France, and of the Frenchmen who visited England, between 1763 and 1787, giving the date in each case. The book is a useful one because it is packed with factual information, clearly and concretely presented, very often in the form of quotation, and carefully documented. But the comment by which the author endeavors to interpret this information is naïve and superficial in the extreme—much the kind of comment one might expect from an English clergyman writing about the year 1818. The following examples will give the quality of Mr. Lockitt's reflections:

When the Revolution broke out, there was found a moderate party

... who inclined to a constitution analogous to the English; but their views were not shared by the great mass of the deputies ... who, partly from a feeling that the English constitution was essentially aristocratic, and partly—misled by the American example—from ignorance of the real advantages of a limited monarchy and a two-chamber system, were disposed to believe in their capacity to evolve a brand-new constitution that should excel all others. . . .

It was, indeed, the very frankness of their atheism that finally destroyed the religion of France, just as it was the obvious bigotry of the *dévots* that prepared the way. Logical conclusion though it was of the writings of the English Deists, their doctrines had not been pushed to this extreme in the land of their birth. The English intellect has always—perhaps from its greater practice in affairs—refrained from enforcing the theoretical speculations of its philosophers in their entirety, and irreligion gained no ground, except among a few advanced thinkers.

Mr. Lockett should remember that England is a very small island; from which it necessarily follows that the great majority of mankind suffer the disadvantage of having been born, and of having to live, in foreign countries; their failure to conform to English ideas, although reprehensible, is probably not due in all cases to mere perversity.

CARL BECKER.

*England in Transition, 1789-1832: a Study of Movements.* By William Law Mathieson, LL.D. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920, pp. xiv, 285, \$6.00.) In all fairness to Dr. Mathieson it should be stated at the beginning of this review that his own modest preface as to the scope of this book describes its contents far more justly than the advertisement of the publisher on the paper wrapper. *England in Transition* is not, in any real sense of the word, a history of the period, nor did its author ever intend it to be such. His aim, as he states, is to "distinguish and illustrate the forces, the economic, but especially the spiritual and intellectual forces", which made the England of 1832 different from the England of 1789.

This aim has been, to some slight degree, accomplished. The book describes in fair measure, even if it does not analyze, the spiritual and religious tendencies of the period; it tells us something of the intellectual fermentation of these forty-odd years; and it contains also a few pages on the politics and economics of Great Britain from the Younger Pitt to the Reform Bill. But it focusses on nothing, and in consequence is not only inartistic but confusing. In two hundred and eighty pages no one either could or should write of such variant yet significant historical facts as the Industrial Revolution, the Reform Bill of 1832, the English game laws, the slave trade, Luddite riots, while at the same time appraising the public work of men differing from one another in the various fields of activity as greatly as did Paley, John Wilkes, Francis Place, Cobbett, Canning, Bentham, Paine, Jonas Hanway, and Lord John Russell. One is reminded of the chapters in the



*Cambridge Modern History* devoted to *Kulturgeschichte*. One finds *materia historica* in abundance; for sequence of thought, for unity of form, for logical deduction and philosophical content one looks in vain. The facts contained herein are well arranged, but there are too many of them and too variant to be in such close juxtaposition. The result is a rather pleasant volume of informal chatty essays.

As one might expect from a knowledge of Dr. Mathieson's earlier writings, the best part of this book is that portion which is especially devoted to the social and religious movements of the period of transition, and the bias of the author's mind in this direction is seen in the emphasis laid by him on Paine's *Age of Reason*. This book never had a vogue or influence at the end of the eighteenth century comparable to that of *The Rights of Man*. But to the latter book there is scant reference in this volume. Wilberforce, the evangelical movement, Sunday schools, and Sabbatarianism are treated fully; of William Godwin there is no mention, and the name of Malthus occurs but incidentally. The book has a rather good treatment of the abolition of the slave-trade, and of the educational ideas and practices of the period; but certainly, as far as the nineteenth century is concerned, one might far better read the earlier volumes of Sir Spencer Walpole's *History of England*, which although written before *Kulturgeschichte* appeared on the horizon, is still the ablest presentation of social England at the opening of the century which has yet appeared in print.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

*The Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel*. Edited by George Peel. With illustrations. (London, John Murray, 1920, pp. xi, 296, 18 sh.) The motive of influencing present-day statesmanship by reviving the memory of Peel, would seem to be served only feebly by the printing of this correspondence. An analysis of his undoubted genius, or a re-statement of his achievement, would have been more to the point; Peel's private letters, it must be confessed, are of doubtful use in helping an admirer to appraise his claim to greatness. The reason is simple. In political life Peel suffered from an illusion of monumental dignity and rectitude; these letters show that even within his own family also, he was, with Lady Peel's assistance, the victim of the same belief. A more colorless repetition of stilted phrase, monotonous endearment, stereotyped commonplace, all put together with dreary impressiveness, has seldom been brought out of a family chest to enhance the reputation of a public man.

The real value of the letters is less for the political critic, who will be inclined most likely to use them adversely, than for the student of prevailing traditions and modes of thought, who will find in them the reflection of a type of mind of which Peel's as a specimen is perfect. When, in the later Georgian era, the choice for the middle class lay between the clear-mindedness of the Utilitarian and the high-mindedness



of the Romantic Transcendentalist, Peel—as became the second generation of a puritan, mill-owning baronetcy, of great wealth—adopted the fashionable affectation of feudal quality with a solemn and earnest fastidiousness that made him a model of exalted propriety and frigid decorum:—a Georgian bourgeois overcome with an acquired sense of mail-clad distinction. But the warmth and color tinging the medievalism of the average middle-class Tory, Peel's personality and manner could never sustain; his letters show him pursuing superiority, coldly, for its own sake. Nevertheless, the attractive background that the middle-class Tory mind, even in Peel's case, brought to the thought and manners of the early Victorian era, is to be felt vividly in this correspondence; and it makes its perusal, for this special purpose, quite worth while.

C. E. FRYER.

*The Employment of the Plebiscite in the Determination of Sovereignty.* By Johannes Mattern, Assistant Librarian in the Johns Hopkins University. [Johns Hopkins University Studies, series XXXVIII., no. 3.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1920, pp. ix, 214, \$1.60.) As a general survey of the evolution and application of the doctrine of the plebiscite in its broadest sense, this book is a valuable complement to Miss Wambaugh's *Monograph on Plebiscites*. Not as intensive in its treatment of specific cases, it is much more comprehensive in scope and more legalistic in manner. A scholarly definition of plebiscite is followed by a somewhat scrappy account of plebiscites in ancient and feudal times. The description of those of the French Revolutionary period and the unification of Italy was written without the benefit of Miss Wambaugh's work, which appeared while Mattern's book was in press. Chapters IV. and V. deal with the plebiscites from 1815 to 1914 and those provided for by the peace treaties ending the World War. The last three chapters discuss the practical and theoretical aspects of plebiscites and their position in international and constitutional law.

The particular importance of the book appears to lie in the fact that it is almost unique in summarizing in English the European investigations in this field. Perhaps the author attempts too much, for his presentation is often sketchy and not always well proportioned. It is not easy to determine the broad outlines, for example, of the evolution of thought or theory relating to the plebiscite. Technical points rather obscure the historical background. With reference to the most recent plebiscites the author's view is detached and judicious but not entirely adequate. His exposition of the plebiscite in international law and its possible future in this sphere is admirably clear and concise. A number of errors occur in the text: Louis XIV. for Louis XVI. (p. 24), Minicio for Mincio (p. 84), East for West (p. 120), conclave for enclaves (p. 142), mersion for mergence (p. 152).

L. B. P.

*Portraits of the Eighties.* By Horace G. Hutchinson. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. xv, 301, \$4.00.) Mr. Hutchinson is known to the world chiefly for his excellent articles on golf and golfers and for many columns of literary opinion and chit-chat in London weeklies. In his essay on Lord Hartington he speaks of the "gradual infiltration into the bulk of the people of a tolerably definite estimate of the characters of their leading men" and suggests that this estimate is usually correct. Mr. Hutchinson's estimates represent, in the main, the result of such infiltration. Few of the men he discusses he seems to have known at all intimately. Rather he has struck a balance between much club-room and newspaper-office opinion and in most cases probably has come off pretty well. His stories are of the kind that pass current in London and yet they are always pat for his purpose.

Many of his sketches add nothing at all to the general body of opinion. About George Meredith—where he believes himself heretical—about W. S. Gilbert, about Burne-Jones, Millais, and the Preraphaelites, about Labouchere and Bradlaugh, about Huxley and about Andrew Lang, he says undisputed things, in a light and pleasing way. His estimate of Joseph Chamberlain seems to me the careless judgment of contemporaries impressed by Chamberlain's personality. Sir Harry Johnston in the *Gay-Donbays* has more nearly hit off Chamberlain than dozens of biographies and essays. As Chamberlain's career and connections are more closely studied, as the backgrounds of the new English imperialism are examined—H. G. Wells has at least pointed the way—we shall revise current notions of Chamberlain. Mr. Hutchinson's portrait of Gladstone is carefully done and adds incidents that are fresh if they but emphasize characteristics already recognized. His suggestion that Morley had much more influence upon Gladstone's policy than Gladstone ever realized has much to be said for it. His study of Parnell is based largely upon an attentive reading of Barry O'Brien's great biography, but is wholly to the point. Equally good are his judgments of Harcourt and Lord Avebury. His first-hand knowledge of Spencer Walpole, of Lord Brassey, and of Lord Wemyss make the sketches of those men valuable. About the "Souls" he tells us more indeed than does Mrs. Asquith, who knew more about them. When he deals with George Grossmith, with W. G. Grace, and with Nellie Farren, he is thoroughly at home.

Mr. Hutchinson writes easily and without pretension to more knowledge than he has. His book is a good three hours of pleasant reading.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

*Guillaume II., le Vaincu.* By G. Lacour-Gayet. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1920, pp. 343, 12.50 fr.) Never, perhaps, before has Nemesis offered so striking a confirmation of the truth that "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall", as in the contrast between the War Lord in shining armor and the axman of Amerongen.

M. Lacour-Gayet's clever analysis makes the most of this dramatic contrast by frequently placing in juxtaposition the past and the present. The Kaiser's dominant influence on German foreign and domestic policy and his extraordinary versatility and complexity of character make him an interesting subject for the historian or psychologist, but M. Lacour-Gayet's treatment is neither exactly historical nor psychological. He does not aim to give a history of William II.'s influence upon his times while Kaiser, nor does he attempt a pathological study of the origin and development of the Kaiser's megalomania. Instead, he gives a series of somewhat disconnected chapters dealing with the Kaiser's attitude toward Bismarck, religion, the army, the navy, pacifism, colonial policy, and the questions of Poland, Schleswig, and Alsace-Lorraine. In the middle of the book, there are a couple of good chapters on William II.'s character and, at the end, a brief chapter on the origin of the war and William II. during the war. This topical treatment does not give a convincing account of the Kaiser's own psychological development such as is given so excellently, for instance, in the brief biography by S. C. Hammer. A considerable part of the book is made up of quotations from the Kaiser's speeches, and especially from the recently published "Letters from the Kaiser to the Czar"; they illustrate excellently the instability, hypocrisy, and self-contradictory character of the Kaiser's kaleidoscopic performances and his love of theatrical display.

In the chapter on the origin of the war, the author assigns to William II. the sole and complete criminal responsibility. He mentions the four-volume Kautsky publication of diplomatic documents of 1919, but apparently has not actually used them, for he entitles them (p. 311) *Comment fût déclarée la Guerre*. This is the French equivalent of the German title of the little pamphlet which Kautsky published many months later; it contains many of the Kaiser's famous marginal notes (some of which are quoted by Lacour-Gayet) and is largely directed against the Kaiser. Had M. Lacour-Gayet used the documents themselves, he would scarcely have made several of the statements which appear. Among other things, he broadens the legend of the Potsdam Council of July 5, so that it includes, among those present, even Counts Berchtold and Tisza.

M. Lacour-Gayet has preserved innumerable anecdotes and facts which illustrate all the Kaiser's foolish love of display, his adoration of his ancestors, his medieval notions about politics and religion, his familiarity with Jehovah, his undesired visits to foreign sovereigns, and his maladroit efforts to be all things to all men.

S. B. F.

*La Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International.* Avec un Avant-propos de M. Paul Fauchille. Tome III. (Paris, A. Pedone, [1920], pp. 90, 40 fr.) M. Fauchille's third volume is of the same character as the two which we have reviewed in a previ-

ous issue (XXIII. 397-398), and what is there said remains true of the present volume. It contains 191 documents (nos. 671-861) presented in French, and in rather fine print. The selection is intelligent, but it remains a selection. Many important documents are here conveniently brought together, ranging from declarations of neutrality at the beginning of the war to the treaties of Brest-Litovsk. The arrangement is neither chronological nor systematic, but there is an index.

*The Literary Digest History of the World War.* By Francis Whitling Halsey. Volume X. (New York and London, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1920, pp. xii, 505, \$25.00 for the set of ten volumes.) Shortly before the tenth and concluding volume in this series was finished the author died. In the introduction, however, we are assured that the task of bringing the last volume "down to date has involved very little additional labor" (p. ix). This statement seems too optimistic, inasmuch as it is obvious that neither the organization nor the quality of the book approaches the standard set in the preceding volumes. Chapters on the four years of sea warfare (except submarine activities, treated in a former volume), personal sketches of war leaders, the Peace Conference, the Victory Loan, Bismarck and Thiers at Versailles in 1871, and the prolonged treaty controversy in the American Senate, are all thrown together in confusion. One feels that all the fragments have been gathered together in order "that nothing be lost".

The personal sketches of sixty-three war leaders, including six Americans, President Wilson, Generals Pershing, March, and Bliss, Admiral Sims and Colonel House, vary according to the content and quality of the magazine articles from which they have been selected. They are largely character-sketches abounding in anecdotes. The former German crown prince comes in for the usual ridicule, while the Kaiser gets decidedly better treatment. The sketches are incomplete; each one ends without summary or logical stopping-place.

The most serious defect of the book, however, is the almost complete omission of discussion concerning the vexing questions with which the delegates at Paris wrestled for months, and the colorless evolution of President Wilson's work, the Senate controversy, and the war's world-significance. The few paragraphs devoted to conclusions are most inadequate when compared to the comprehensive review of pre-war conditions found in the first volumes. Laymen in international affairs, among whom the book will have a wide reading, will gain little as a guide for the formation of intelligent opinions on the present international situation. It is a pity that there could not have been a little less description of treaty ceremonies and a little more treatment of things of present and fundamental significance to the American people.

The book contains good maps, summaries of the various treaties, a war chronology, and an index to the entire series.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

*Little History of the Great War.* By H. Vast, Honorary Examiner for Admission at l'École de St. Cyr. Translated by Raymond Weeks, Ph.D., Professor of French in Columbia University. With numerous maps from the French and other sources. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1920, pp. xi, 262, \$1.60.) This little book is an effort to present in clear but brief outline the events of the war and the causes which produced it. In this effort the author has scored a very real success. The course of the military events from August, 1914, to November, 1918, is set forth graphically, simply, and clearly: the facts are allowed to speak for themselves and there is no unnecessary eloquence. M. Vast has confined himself predominantly to the military history of the war; the blockade of Germany and the measures of internal war organization on the part of the warring governments are given scant treatment, the diplomatic phases of the war receive practically no attention. The book gains in unity and clearness as a result of this policy, but also loses in scope. It is primarily a book for the reader who wishes, in a brief time, to understand and follow the military events of the war.

Far weaker than the chapters on the war itself are those which deal with the causes leading to it. Germany is the villain, perpetually and entirely in the wrong, and very little attempt has apparently been made to understand the position of France's foe. Perhaps historic detachment is too much to expect at this time from the citizen of devastated France. Over-condensation, also, is responsible for some errors, of which perhaps the most noticeable is the statement that "in the war against the Boers (1899-1902) the Kaiser took sides noisily against the English, by his telegram to President Kruger" (p. 26). The chapter dealing with the immediate causes of the war is the best in this group and makes a serious and not unsuccessful effort to refute the German arguments for their policy in 1914.

The author modestly makes no claim to finality of judgment. The book merely aims to give a clear and careful answer to that large group of persons who wish to know something of the battle of the Marne or the reasons for the collapse of Germany in 1918 and lack either the inclination or the time to read the longer and more exhaustive works. To them, at least, this little volume deserves commendation.

Professor Weeks, as might be expected, has given us a very good translation. All the lucidity of the original has been retained in its English dress. The format of the book leaves little to be desired. In a work of this type an index is relatively less necessary, but a brief register might, possibly, have added slightly to the value of the book.

MASON W. TYLER.

*Handbook prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, nos. 76-88, 115-121, 131-138.* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1920, pp. from 21 to 97 each, price 1 sh. to 2 s. 6 d. each.) Almost all of these last of Dr. Prothero's *Handbooks* deal with

the colonial possessions of one power or another. As before, they are of varying value, not so much owing to the difference in the mode of treatment of the respective subjects as to the amount of space allotted to them. For instance, the *Handbook* on Dutch Guiana is longer than the one on French Indo-China, and the one on the Falkland Islands longer than the one on Dutch New Guinea and the Molucca Islands. To sum up our conclusions of the whole series, we may say that the *Handbooks* are good compendiums, furnishing in convenient form information some of which is not quickly procurable elsewhere. The smaller the subject of which each one treats, the greater is apt to be its relative value.

*Vermittlung und Gute Dienste in Vergangenheit und Zukunft.* By Edgar de Melville. (Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1920, pp. ix, 159, M. 14.) The Dutch pacifist Van der Mandere, who was the secretary of the Netherlands Pacifist Commission on a Minimum Programme for Peace, now writing under the pseudonym of Edgar de Melville, offers this essay upon mediation and good offices for the purpose of reaching a conclusion as to whether these instrumentalities of international conciliation and settlement are likely to have a place under the scheme of the present League of Nations. In the past they have been of importance for the settlement of non-justiciable disputes, of controversies essentially political. They have been essentially facultative in character, for in the author's opinion there is something essentially antagonistic between intervention and mediation. Good offices and mediation bring the contending states together upon the plane of equality, without derogating from their rights of independence and sovereignty—so, indeed, in theory, but certainly not in practice. The Council of the League of Nations is the agency which, proceeding upon the theory of a solidarity of spirit as expressed in unity of organization, will have jurisdiction over political disputes, those of a legal nature going to arbitration, or to the international court of justice. The traditional character of mediation and good offices will thereby be changed, but notwithstanding the collegiate organization of the Council there will still be need for a method and procedure which will retain the essential features of mediation and good offices.

Such being the main thesis of the essay the historical aspects of the subject are made secondary. The various instances of the use of mediation and good offices are briefly described, and greater space is devoted to the consideration which the Hague Conferences gave to these subjects. The discussion of them by the Commission for a Minimum Programme naturally receives detailed consideration. In the appendix will be found extracts from the various treaties as well as proposals made to the Interparliamentary Union and elsewhere. An adequate bibliography is added. The essay fulfils its purpose, in showing the need in the future for some such machinery for the settlement of



political controversies. It is painstaking, and in the statement of fact apparently accurate. It is, however, written with a quality of heaviness which is reminiscent of similar matter of ante-bellum date, when very ponderous statements, if set forth in expanded type, carried much weight and imported ultimate authority.

J. S. R.

*The History of Imperialism.* By Irwin St. John Tucker. (New York, Rand School of Social Science, 1920, pp. 404, \$2.25.) We must expect, and it is desirable, that history should be written anew from the point of view of socialism, and that among works of this sort one variety should be the small book that undertakes to give an outline of the whole course of human history, considered from the point of view of the Marxist faith. But that book, if it is to perform a useful service, must not be like this, a book swarming with erroneous statements, filled with turgid and declamatory rhetoric, lacking perception of values and proportions, and eager at every turn to twist the facts into support of assumed doctrines.

*Harper's Atlas of American History.* Selected from the *American Nation* Series, with Map Studies. By Dixon Ryan Fox, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1920, pp. v, 181, \$2.50.) This volume contains 128 maps selected from the *American Nation* series; the character and value of these maps are well known; placed together in chronological order they form a cartographical history of the United States. The lapses, such as omission of maps showing the important presidential elections of 1828 and 1832 (when maps of so many elections of lesser moment are given), and some errors, such as George Rogers Clark's route to Kaskaskia being made to follow the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, are well known to the users of the series mentioned.

The book ought to be of extraordinary service to teachers of our history in preparatory schools. No such set of maps in handy form, and made by scholars, exists. To these teachers Dr. Fox's contribution to the volume (occupying 81 of the 181 pages) will make a strong appeal. Following a brilliant little essay of nine pages entitled "American History and the Map", come twenty-seven map studies of as many phases of our history, arranged in chronological order. These should materially assist teachers who have their classes draw colored maps illustrative of events or periods to standardize such efforts in a critical way. Here anyone interested in such work will find scientific direction and references to the best authorities. No preparatory-school library should be without this volume.

Critics of the influence-of-geography school will relish Dr. Fox's balance of attitude; in his suggestions he emphasizes political interests as fully as economic or topographical. His introductory essay may



well be read with profit by every student of our history; he suggests the analogy which ought to be drawn usefully between ecology and human migration and in several instances he is at the threshold of bringing out the enormous importance of soil series as one factor in influencing American migration. The book has no index.

ARCHER B. HULBERT.

*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* Volume LIII., October 1919-June, 1920. (Boston, the Society, 1920, pp. xvi, 358.) This volume, like its predecessors, consists of documents and of papers read in the meetings of the society. Of the documents the most important is a log of the *Columbia*, kept on its famous voyage of 1790-1793, by John Boit, which fills sixty pages, and a group of letters from Thomas Thornely, M.P., written in 1840-1847 to Henry Lee of Boston, the free-trader, with one letter of 1840 from the latter. Thornely's letters are important for what they say of the adoption of free trade by Great Britain and the adoption of the Bank Restriction Act of 1844. Among the personal memoirs the most interesting is that of the late Col. Henry L. Higginson by John T. Morse, jr.

*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.* Volumes XX. and XXI. *Transactions*, 1917-1919, 1919. (Boston, the Society, pp. xv, 502; xiii, 491.) Like all the preceding volumes published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, these volumes are exceptionally handsome in appearance, and have been annotated, indexed, and otherwise edited, with elaborate care. Of the contents of volume XX., much the largest component (175 pages) is Professor E. B. Delabarre's account of the recent history of Dighton Rock, supplementary to his previous contributions on the subject. He now pursues the attempted interpretations, from Raft's time to the present, enumerates and discusses the photographic reproductions, hazards a fresh conjecture as to the name Cortereal among the inscribed characters, and ends with a psychologist's reflections on the whole story of endeavors to interpret. In brief, no such endeavors have succeeded, but the inscriptions are mostly Indian, and in no case Norse. Other contributions of interest are Mr. John H. Edmonds's group of documents on Captain Thomas Pound, pirate and cartographer; the late Horace E. Ware's discussions of the history of the seventeen-year cicadas in New England, from Bradford's time down; Judge Sewall and Rev. Nicholas Noyes on Wigs, contributed by Mr. W. C. Ford; Edward Goddard's Journal of the Peace Commission to the Eastern Indians in 1726; and the Origin of the Words Butternut and Copperhead, studied by Mr. Albert Matthews after his thorough manner. But the most important piece in the volume is Mr. R. V. Harlow's excellent and illuminating paper on Economic Conditions in Massachusetts during the American Revolution.

In volume XXI. the longest paper, and on the whole the most interesting, is one by Professor George L. Kittredge, on Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant, in which with his customary learning he brings together all the needful materials for the life of Child and makes a rational defense of the colonial authorities. Mr. Matthews contributes a paper on Early Sunday Schools in Boston; Mr. J. H. Tuttle a body of 118 land-warrants issued under Andros, 1687-1688; and Professor Kenneth Colegrove a useful dissertation on the instructions given by New England towns to their deputies in colonial legislatures. Three contributions relate to the history of Harvard College: Mr. Matthews investigates the relations of Comenius to the college, the presidency of which is said to have been offered to him, and the conflicting statements respecting the college charter of 1692, while Mr. A. C. Potter, of the university library, presents a catalogue of John Harvard's library.

*Plymouth and the Pilgrims.* By Arthur Lord. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. 178, \$1.50.) In 1920 Mr. Arthur Lord, president of the Pilgrim Society, delivered three lectures on the Colver foundation at Brown University, which have now been published under the title, *Plymouth and the Pilgrims*. The first chapter treats of Plymouth before the Pilgrims, the second of the Pilgrims before Plymouth, and the third of Plymouth and the Pilgrims, titles which sufficiently indicate the character of the subject-matter and the distribution of the material. The point of view taken is, in the main, a familiar one, for Mr. Lord has departed in no important particular from the conventional treatment of Pilgrim history and has made no concession to recent historical views or to interpretations based on the idea that there must be a difference in mental longitude between the man of 1620 and the man of to-day. He has told his story well, perhaps at times in greater detail than would seem advisable in lectures to popular audiences, and he does not fail to draw the usual lessons from Pilgrim example, most of which are rather pietistic and emotional than historical. The Mayflower Compact is still "the first state paper in the New World to express and typify and symbolize the high conception, the inspiring idea, of civil liberty, of self-government, of a true democracy", a statement that is, perhaps, a wider departure from the truth than is commonly attempted, except at Pilgrim Society banquets. Should this and other remarks about "corner stones" and "the future of the New World" fall under the eye of Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, who with equal obliquity of vision sees in the Virginia House of Burgesses of 1619 the "first popularly elected body", "the first expression of democracy", in America, they would probably lead to his writing another chapter on "Propaganda in History". More serious even than these extravagant utterances are the errors of understanding which occasionally appear. The "liberties, franchises, and immunities" of our early charters were not the universal human rights that Mr. Lord thinks they were, and the

connection which he finds between the tenure of the manor of East Greenwich, gavelkind, and the New England land system is mostly fiction. To call the common-stock and half-profit business arrangement, made in half a dozen of the earliest plantations, "Communism", is to misunderstand its character as a temporary device in promoting colonization; and to accept the views of Motley and Campbell on Dutch influence in America is to ignore the saner opinions of Dr. Colenbrander and Miss Putnam. Excellent as is much of what Mr. Lord has written, his treatment as a whole is reminiscent of the ideas and historical tastes of an older generation.

*Cape Cod and the Old Colony.* By Albert Perry Brigham, Sc.D., Professor of Geology in Colgate University. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920, pp. xi, 284, \$3.50.) The Pilgrim tercentenary, like others of the sort, has brought forth a small flood of historical and semi-historical literature, most of it of little value. To this statement Professor Brigham's book is an exception. It is the best book on Cape Cod since Thoreau's.

The poet-naturalist had the advantage of seeing Cape Cod at the height of its amphibious civilization, when population had reached its peak, before summer visitors or alien proletariat had obtained a foothold. Professor Brigham came half a century later, with the "rusticators". But he brought the mind of a scientific geographer, a keen power of observation, and a sympathetic attitude toward Pilgrim and "Portygee" alike. He is the first to describe, in popular form, the geologic origin of the Cape; to explain its curious combination of ponds, valleys, tidal inlets, and outlying shoals. He has found in the Cape's history a perfect illustration of the influence of geography on population. He has honestly described the Cape as it is, not as the readers of *Cap'n Eri* expect it to be.

The subtitle is slightly misleading, for the author attempts only to describe the Plymouth and Cape shores of the Old Colony. There is good reason for this, however. Plymouth Bay belongs geologically to Cape Cod. Its isolation from the land and sea routes of colonial commerce, and its unproductive back country, explain the poverty and slow development of the Pilgrim Colony, in contrast to Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut.

The history of the Cape is given briefly, but with sufficient detail to emphasize the individuality of each town and village. A most valuable chapter definitely explodes the legend of the Cape's agricultural barrenness. Cranberries, tea-rooms, and fake "Cap'ns" are not the only Cape Cod crops. It is gratifying to find a resident of central New York impressed with the orchards of Pamet, the nurseries of Barnstable, and the fourteen-thousand-acre Coonomessett Ranch at Hatchville, where modern agriculture is profitably exploiting land that the Pilgrim seed passed by. Several pages are properly devoted to the Cape Cod Canal.

Another chapter describes the population changes of the last half-century, and the new problems created by the juxtaposition of a Portuguese proletariat, a Yankee bourgeoisie, and a summer-visitor plutocracy. Evidently the sacred town-meeting is becoming a bit warped and strained.

There are few slips in fact, or errors in judgment. Stones brought up from the Georges Bank seem to indicate a non-glacial origin.

The Cape villages are not good illustrations for Lionel W. Lyde's pretty theory that democracy is a product of fishing. There were distinct social classes in old Barnstable and Brewster, as elsewhere on the New England coast; shipmasters and shipowners ran the town-meetings much as they did their vessels. The old-time Cape Codder, in fact, illustrates Horace's *coelum non animus* better than the "broadening influence of the sea".

Popular monographs such as this, sound yet readable, teach historians much, and suggest that the profession might profit by more personal field-work in a region whose history it attempts to relate. Professor Brigham's book is also an example of what should be done for every physiographic region in America. But few such regions have the distinctiveness and the rare flavor of Cape Cod.

*Old Cape Cod: the Land, the Men, the Sea.* By Mary Rogers Bangs. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. 298, \$3.50.) Miss Bangs's book is of a different stamp from Professor Brigham's. In form and subject-matter, it is a history. The publisher's announcement is correct in describing it as "vivid and highly colored", and in ascribing to the authoress a "keen historical imagination". Even the casual tourist will find Professor Brigham's book the more readable; and for the historical student Miss Bangs offers only a rehash of old Freeman, the town histories, and the standard works on the fisheries, with a bit of seasoning from Sears's and Sprague's books on old shipmasters of Brewster and Barnstable; the whole sauced with sentiment and color. Inaccuracies are innumerable, and seem due rather to straining for effect than to carelessness. Captain Cobb did not "see Robespierre's head falling into the basket" (p. 224); he expressly states in his diary that he left Paris before the 9 Thermidor. Robert Gray, not John Kenrick (*sic*) was the "first American master to circle the globe"; but Robert Gray was not a Cape Codder. A good history of Cape Cod and its maritime activities is much needed, but it must be based on patient research in family archives, town records, accounts and records of fishing voyages, and the custom-house archives of the Barnstable district (now removed to New Bedford). There is also a wealth of information on fishing, seafaring, and salt-making, stored in the minds of old inhabitants, which should be rescued before it is too late.

Both this book and Mr. Brigham's are beautifully and generously illustrated with photographs.

*In Old Pennsylvania Towns.* By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1920, pp. 352, \$5.00.) This book is both attractive to the eye and entertaining and informing in its content. The history and tradition of the small town and of pioneer days of cities have always possessed a charm that has inspired many a volume. Outside of the many books on Philadelphia, the colorless accounts given in the commercial type of county histories, and a few excellent monographs of local historians, the historic associations of Pennsylvania towns have not received the same attention as have, for example, those of the New England towns and some of the South. "To gather together some record of these associations, while those still living are able to recall stories, handed down from father to son, of the days when many of these towns were frontier forts", as well as "to record the recollections of later and eventful days just before and soon after the Civil War", has been the object of the writer of this book.

Much history has been made in Pennsylvania; its villages and towns have atmosphere and physical setting unsurpassed, and its diversity of nationality and religious sects with their quaint and picturesque customs prevents monotony. This state, therefore, with such widely individual characteristics, offers an attractive field for a book of this sort. Materials drawn from tradition, local historians, and publications of the state and county historical societies, have all been woven into a gossipy, readable story of a connected tour covering the greater part of the state. Naturally, Revolutionary scenes and events, Molly Pitcher of Carlisle, Robert Fulton and his early life, President Buchanan at Wheatland, Gettysburg (the college at this town, however, is not Pennsylvania State College which is located near Bellefonte), President Lincoln's visits to Lancaster and Harrisburg in February, 1861, Thaddeus Stevens, and other nationally known personages and places are given prominent mention in the story. The reader will perhaps find greater fascination in the Indian tales that are told, the local legends, the description given of the Moravian settlements, the story of the Friends, of the French settlement at Asylum, intended as a place of refuge for the nobility of France, and of Queen Esther of Wyoming. He will certainly admire the beautiful illustrations, thirty-nine of them, mostly of old houses, churches, estates, and doorways. The book ends too abruptly; the last page is unnumbered, and leaves the reader in Chester with no warning that his pleasant journey is at an end.

L. F. S.

*Sea Power in American History: the Influence of the Navy and the Merchant Marine upon American Development.* By Herman F. Krafft and Walter B. Norris, Associate Professors, United States Naval Academy. (New York, Century Company, 1920, pp. xxii, 372, \$4.00.) Although the authors of this volume have preferred to call it by its

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present title, it is nevertheless practically a somewhat condensed history of the American navy. But, while the stirring incidents of our naval annals are duly recorded and adequate portraits of our maritime heroes drawn, the book is especially designed to bring home to its readers the vital part which ships and sailors have played in our country's development, as well as the mutual dependence upon one another of the two branches of shipping, naval and commercial. It is therefore less a dramatic chronicle of brilliant deeds than a clear exposition of the manner in which events were shaped by maritime influences.

It is inevitable that a single volume which treats of the entire period of our national history, from colonial times up to and including the year 1920, must be popular in character, which is the case in this instance. For this very reason the book is an excellent one to place in the hands of the layman desirous of acquiring a clear knowledge, imparted in a spirited and pleasing manner, of the decisive rôle which our navy and our commercial fleets have ever played and must always play in our national life. But it is fair to add that, though the scope of the work prevents the meticulous treatment of any one phase of maritime history that might be demanded of a General Staff historian, nevertheless the historical references are correct and the presentation of policies and situations sound, while nothing is omitted that serves to preserve the continuity of record.

Keeping in mind the very justifiable chief object of our authors, the presentation of the supreme importance of sea power to this country, it seems questionable whether the rather extended and detailed biographies of our great naval commanders contained in the book would not better have been either considerably condensed or incorporated in a separate book. It is difficult to see, for example, how the volume's main thesis is furthered by a detailed recital of Farragut's personal relations with crowned heads and European diplomats. It is quite possible, however, that the inclusion of these chapters, which in themselves are extremely interesting, may make the book more acceptable to the average lay reader, the one most likely to be benefited by it. In any case it cannot fail to be of signal service in reminding Americans once more that sea power was the decisive factor in the making of these United States, by the activities of our privateers and the intervention of the French squadron; and repeatedly in preserving their independence, as in the second war against Great Britain by our inland victories on Erie and Champlain and those of our frigates, in the Civil War by strangling the Confederacy, and finally in the World War by our aid in combating the submarine menace and in transporting the American army to France. The book drives home the facts that the navy is our first line of defense, that a navy is never aggressive but always defensive, and finally that it must be a powerful preventive of war.

The chapters on the maritime activities of the Spanish-American War and the building of the Panama Canal are instructive, while the



summing up of the American naval and industrial contributions to the Allied cause in the late war, while short, is graphic and sound.

EDWARD BRECK.

*The Senate and Treaties, 1789-1817: the Development of the Treaty-Making Functions of the United States Senate during their Formative Period.* By Ralston Hayden, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xvi, 237, \$1.50.) Recent differences of opinion existing between President Wilson and the Senate have aroused renewed interest in the study of the treaty-making powers under the Constitution. Although contributing little new information on the subject, Professor Hayden has performed a useful service by tracing from 1789 to 1817 the gradual development of treaty-making procedure in the Senate. The importance of precedents is emphasized by the author in his assertion that "At no subsequent period was more done to fix the relative powers of the President and the Senate in treaty-making, and to determine when and how the Senate should exercise its functions in the field, than during the administrations of President Washington" (p. 2). Almost half the book is devoted to this period. The author shows how the attempt to maintain personal contact between the Executive and the Senate, whereby the Senate should be in reality a "council of advice" to the President, broke down, with the result that the President gained a greater freedom in negotiation of treaties and the Senate was placed in a position to accept, amend, or reject such treaties without feeling itself bound by previous consent. In place of the abandoned practice of personal contact between President and Senate there grew up the committee system. In chapter VIII., previously printed in the *American Journal of International Law*, the author traces the early development of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The book ends rather abruptly with the ratification of the treaty of 1816 with Sweden and Norway.

In his bibliography Professor Hayden discusses critically the materials used in writing the book. His note (p. 220) on the condition of the executive files of the Senate is additional testimony to the need of an archive building in Washington. The bibliography obviously is selective rather than inclusive but, even so, one wonders why such authorities as the *Journal of William Maclay* and Brown's *Life of Oliver Ellsworth*, both quoted in the text, are not listed in the bibliography. The same is true of the *Writings* of statesmen. In the latter case it would have been helpful if particular editions of *Writings* employed in the text had been noted in the bibliography.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

*A Short History of the American Labor Movement.* By Mary Beard. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920, pp. 174, \$1.50.)



This is a timely summary of the researches in American labor history by Professor John R. Commons and his associates, and by other students in the field. The pioneer work was *The Labor Movement in America*, by Professor Richard T. Ely, published in 1886. Twenty years later Professor Ely, in pursuance of a never flagging ambition to bring the work down to date, associated with himself Professor Commons and others, and raised a considerable fund for a systematic search for source-material throughout the country. The material was sifted and classified, and important portions of it published as a *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* in ten volumes. The final work was a *History of Labour in the United States* by Commons and associates, in two volumes, published in 1918.

As one of Professor Commons's associates in the last-named work, the reviewer can only express his satisfaction that the results of the laborious work of the group have now become more accessible to the general public through Mrs. Beard's little volume. Her treatment of the basic facts leaves nothing to be desired. The text is conveniently divided into short paragraphs under telling headings; and the material is so arranged that no unnecessary details clog the story of the development of the main issue of to-day. Also the story is brought down to the present time.

The reviewer may be pardoned, however, if in all frankness he states that he misses in Mrs. Beard's exposition much of the realistic interpretation of the course of the labor movement in America given by Professor Commons. It is clear that Mrs. Beard belongs to those students of the labor question who consider the American Federation of Labor of to-day as a case of arrested growth, particularly because of its negative attitude toward a political labor party. This is not the place to enter into a lengthy discussion of the question, except perhaps to state the reviewer's conviction that the persistent "economism" of the Federation is much less the result of a dogged conservatism of old leaders than the consequence of the recognized unwieldiness for economic reform of a system of government which operates by means of forty-nine different sovereign entities, and in which the last voice belongs to a court removed from popular control. Unfortunately in some quarters there has been too much reasoning by analogy from the experience of Great Britain and not enough recognition of the peculiarities of the American situation.

S. PERLMAN.

*The Diary of a Forty-Niner*. Edited by Chauncey L. Canfield. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xviii, 253, \$3.50.) This is the second edition of a story (first published in 1907) of a Connecticut Yankee, Alfred T. Jackson, who mined in the diggings on Rock Creek, Nevada County, California, in the early fifties. Coming with his mind set on winning a competency, he was driven by loneliness

to become cabinmate with "Pard", an educated, mysterious Easterner, who weaned him away from narrow New England mental and moral horizons, prepared him for a break with his home-town Hetty, and developed him into the wider-visioned Westerner ready for marriage with a vivacious French widow, attractive personally, but especially desirable because of her "pile" made dealing twenty-one in gambling houses. Pard and Jackson also acquired wealth by engaging successively in the varied processes of placer-mining and by speculating in San Francisco sand-lots. The old folks at home were "set up" with a new farm, a black silk dress, and a new horse and buggy.

The editor, who in an epilogue calls himself the compiler, avers that the document printed came into his hands "bearing every evidence of genuineness" as a "truthful, unadorned, veracious chronicle of the placer-mining days of the foothills, a narrative of events as they occurred, told in simple . . . sentences, yet vivid and truth-compelling in the absence of conscious literary endeavor" (pp. ix, x).

No historical student familiar with authentic diaries of the early California fifties can accept this statement as meaning that a real diary is here faithfully reproduced. There is too much orthographical and rhetorical excellence, let alone dramatic unity. Pard, if a real Californian, would never, in an authentic document, have been buried under the anonymity here affected; nor would Jackson's entire family have disappeared in a generation. However, the story is readable and entertaining; it presents the gold period in an atmosphere of verisimilitude more convincing, indeed, than does the Bret Harte legend which the editor so warmly disparages. And yet the claim of historical authenticity as a personal diary for a compilation of reminiscences, genuine and entertaining as these may be, is unwarranted. It is a pseudo-diary.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

*The Fourth Division, its Services and Achievements in the World War.* Gathered from the Records of the Division. By Christian A. Bach, Colonel, General Staff, Chief of Staff Fourth Division, and Henry Noble Hall, War Correspondent London *Times*, accredited to the American Army. (Issued by the Division, 1920, pp. xvi, 368.) This official history of the Fourth Division is a sincere tribute to the *esprit de corps* which training and service combined to create in all ranks of the "Ivy" Division. It is also a successful attempt to give in clear and readable form an account of the operations on the Western Front during the last eleven months of the war, from the standpoint of an American division. The authors have been particularly happy in selecting the right amount of detail to illustrate the actual conditions under which men fought, without obscuring the relation between the tasks of the smaller units and those of the division as a whole, or between the work of the division and that of the larger group to which it was attached. For the general reader the interest of the work lies chiefly in the light

which it throws upon the difficulties which confronted the American Expeditionary Force in the various stages of its development, the attitude of officers and men towards these problems, and the manner in which they were overcome.

The point of view represented is that of the Regular Army, for the Fourth was a "regular" division. Authorized December 3, 1917, it was organized at Camp Greene, N. C., from a nucleus of regular troops supplemented by volunteers and selective service men. To this core of regulars the authors attribute the rapidity with which the division became an effective fighting force, and the high standards of efficiency and discipline which it attained. The division was transported overseas in April and May, 1919, to undergo further training, first with the British and then with the French. In battalion units under French command it shared in the Aisne-Marne offensive of July; some of its elements were engaged with the 42nd Division at Serigny; on the Vesle in August it first fought as a complete unit; at St. Mihiel it formed part of the First American Army; and as part of the III. Army Corps saw twenty-four days' continuous fighting on the Meuse. Throughout the winter 1918-1919 it was stationed on the Rhine. The story of the division is, in epitome, that of the A. E. F. itself.

It is worth noting that the authors vigorously defend the American plan of hastening victory at the cost of heavy initial sacrifices, and heartily support General Pershing's insistence upon creating an independent American army. Five useful maps accompany the book; official documents are appropriately cited; there are numerous illustrations; and appendixes contain lists of commanding officers, divisional citations, official awards, and the roll of honor.

A. E. R. BOAK.

*New England in France, 1917-1919: a History of the Twenty-sixth Division, U. S. A.* By Emerson Gifford Taylor, Major, Infantry, 26th Division, U. S. A., Acting Assistant Chief of Staff. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. 324, \$5.00.) The Twenty-sixth or "Yankee" Division was organized in July, 1917, by a consolidation of the New England National Guard. In November of that year its last unit had arrived overseas, making it the first complete American division at the front. The Twenty-sixth saw service along the Chemin des Dames, and in the La Reine sector; took part in the Champagne-Marne defensive, and was actively engaged in the Aisne-Marne, St. Mihiel, and Meuse-Argonne offensives. The narrative of the division's operations in these campaigns is given in great detail, fortified by the quotation of important orders and illustrated by appropriate maps.

However, Major Taylor's work has the additional value of being a study of National Guardsmen in the war. He admits the inherent defects of the Guard system, as well as the particular weakness of the Guard in 1917, owing to the recent numerous withdrawals resulting

from the experiences on the Mexican border and the attractions of the Reserve Officers Corps. But he believes that these disadvantages were more than counterbalanced by the volunteer spirit of both old members and new recruits, the stimulus of local patriotism, and the sympathy existing between officers and men. It is not denied that the guardsmen were slow in acquiring discipline and efficiency, but it is maintained that they had some legitimate cause for complaint at their treatment by the War Department, the higher authorities of the American Expeditionary Force, and many individual officers of the regular army, to whose conduct that of the division's first commander, Maj.-Gen. Edwards, afforded a pleasing contrast. In America official coolness towards the Guard caused a temporary suspension of recruitment, and an effort seems to have been made to replace militia regimental commanders by regulars. In France this coolness still continued and tended occasionally to discourage men from loyal performance of duty, although with the majority it served as a spur to prove themselves as good or better than regular troops.

In two respects the division suffered considerable inconvenience from the policy of General Headquarters. Firstly, the neglect to return hospital cases to their units, coupled with the tardiness and insufficiency of replacements for them and for others detached to special duties, resulted in destroying the solidarity and weakening the strength of the fighting units. Secondly, the practice of limiting promotions to one-third of the vacancies caused by battle casualties, and the filling of all others by replacements, caused many men who had proved their worth to be deprived of well-earned rewards and brought into the division some utterly incompetent officers.

A. E. R. BOAK.

*Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War against Germany.* Volume I. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. iv, 200, \$3.00.) This is the first of a series of volumes containing memoirs of the nearly four hundred men of Harvard University who had given their lives in service, or as a direct consequence of service, with the American and Allied forces, combatant or auxiliary, during the Great War. The present volume is fittingly devoted to "the Vanguard"—to the thirty who made the supreme sacrifice before the entry of the United States into the war. It is a curious coincidence, illustrating in a striking way the cosmopolitan character of our oldest university, that of these thirty the first five represent, according to place of birth, and with one exception according to nationality, England, the United States, France, Italy, and Canada respectively. If we classify the first thirty by nationality we find that eighteen were American, ten were British, including five Canadians, and two were French. Fourteen served in the British and Canadian forces, seven in those of France, including the Lafayette Squadron, and nine in auxiliary organizations,

chiefly in the American ambulance service. The three best known to contemporary fame who are here commemorated are Victor Chapman and Norman Prince of the Lafayette Squadron, and Alan Seeger of the Foreign Legion. The memoirs vary in length and in the nature of their details according to the material gathered by the Harvard War Records Office and the Harvard Memorial Society, and by the editor through correspondence. Frequently they contain extracts from letters or diaries which we are inclined to wish might have been more numerous and longer, but the selections are made and the narrative presented with that perfect taste and art which we have learned to expect from the accomplished biographer who is the editor of the series.

W. G. L.

*An Explorer in the Air Service.* By Hiram Bingham, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel, Air Service, U. S. A. (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. xiv, 260, \$10.00.) Colonel Bingham's volume, as the title indicates, is a record of personal experience and is in no sense intended as a formal history of the Air Service or of any particular phase of military aviation. It is natural, however, in view of the author's activities during the war, that the narrative should deal mainly with the selection and training of the personnel of the Air Service in the United States and abroad. Colonel Bingham describes his own training as a pilot during the spring of 1917 and his work as director of the schools of military aeronautics in the United States during the early weeks of the war. He was for a time chief of "Air Personnel" in Washington and vividly portrays the confusion which prevailed in the capital throughout this period. In April, 1918, he went overseas, where he became Chief of Personnel for the Air Service, A. E. F., and finally, in August, was made commandant of the Third Aviation Instruction Centre at Issoudun. The most valuable chapters of the volume, and those which will probably be of most interest to the average reader, are the ones which describe the work at this great school. They contain an absorbing account of the highly technical process of aviation training in its various branches and the almost insuperable difficulties involved in turning out pilots for service at the front. Colonel Bingham speaks with authority on this subject in view of his own training as a pilot and his experience as commandant of the greatest aviation school in the American Expeditionary Forces. His criticism and comments with regard to matters of general policy are less satisfying. In the case of a single combat arm, like the Air Service, it must always be remembered that it was necessary to co-ordinate its activities with the general military programme, and a careful study of the requirements of the entire situation will sometimes explain apparent mistakes and inconsistencies of policy. Few, however, will be inclined to dispute Colonel Bingham's main thesis, that the difficulties of the Air Service were due largely to

unpreparedness. One cannot help feeling that the author's occasional insinuations relative to the personal courage of some of the non-flying officers serve no useful purpose while there is always the possibility that they may be unjust. The volume is, on the whole, an important and authoritative contribution to the literature of the war in a field where there has been endless controversy and in which very little of value has been written heretofore.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

*Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915.* Selected and edited by W. P. M. Kennedy, Department of Modern History, University of Toronto. (London, New York, and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. xxxii, 707, \$4.00.) Professor Kennedy has incorporated in one volume a mass of documents which had hitherto been accessible only in several, more than one of which was out of print. He has not attempted to draw from sources hitherto unpublished, such as the Bagot or the Elgin papers in the Canadian Archives.

He has divided the history of Canada under British rule into six periods: 1759-1763, 1763-1774, 1774-1791, 1791-1840, 1840-1867, 1867-1915. The documents dealing with the first four periods are ample and on the whole well chosen, though even here there are odd *lacunae*. The omission of the "Presentation" by the grand jury of Quebec on October 16, 1764, in which the jurors state their grievances, and demand constitutional changes and elucidations, cannot be defended. It is given in Shortt and Doughty, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, published by the Canadian Archives. Professor Kennedy gives long extracts from the debates in the House of Commons on the Quebec Act of 1774, but omits the brief but striking speech of Chatham in the Lords, for which we are referred to the *Chatham Correspondence*. The fifth and sixth periods are not dealt with proportionately. In the fifth there is not sufficient reference to the interconnection of commercial and constitutional freedom, an omission made to some extent in the fourth period also. There is hardly a mention of the wearing away of the old colonial system, or of the very important declaration in favor of annexation to the United States put forth in 1849, in consequence of the adoption by Great Britain of free trade, by the merchants of Montreal, who under a régime of preference had been in the main High Tory imperialists; or of the repeal of the Navigation Acts; or of the objection of the Colonial Secretary in 1859 to the Canadian protective tariff, and the crushing reply of the Canadian finance minister with the celebrated sentence that "self-government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada," Rudyard Kipling says somewhere that historians deal with people as though they had no stomachs, and certainly Professor Kennedy shows a somewhat Olympian neglect of this essential factor.



The sixth section is little more than a skeleton, containing four or five acts of Parliament, but making no reference to such important matters as the despatches of Edward Blake, the Canadian minister of justice in 1876, and frankly shirking any citation of causes pled before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Professor Kennedy should either have published his work in two volumes, or have made room for these and other important documents by cutting out some of the verbiage of his fourth period, which at present comprises about half his volume.

The notes are so inadequate that the book would hardly have suffered from their complete deletion. No bibliography is given, and such references as occur in the text are usually inadequate, *e.g.*, "Cartwright's Cases" is surely not a sufficient identification of *Cases decided on the British North America Act, 1867*, collected and edited by John R. Cartwright, five vols. (Toronto, 1882-1897). There is no index, though an attempt is made to supply the deficiency by an elaborate table of contents.

W. L. GRANT.

*Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D.* By William McCulloch, D.D. Edited and published by Isabella Walker McCulloch and Jean Wallace McCulloch. (Truro, Nova Scotia, 1920, pp. 218, \$2.50.) This biography deals with one who was engaged in the bitter struggle for liberty of education in the province of Nova Scotia during the first half of the nineteenth century. It therefore reveals much that is not flattering to some of the outstanding figures in church and state of the time. Because of this fact, and the author's express wish, it has been withheld from the press for a quarter of a century. The occasion of its publication was the centennial of Dalhousie University and the Presbyterian College, Halifax, with whose early history Dr. Thomas McCulloch was intimately connected.

A minister of the Secession Church of Scotland, the Rev. Thomas McCulloch moved to Nova Scotia in the early years of the nineteenth century, and settling at Pictou became one of the great educational pioneers of the colony. He saw at once two great needs of the country: a means of education for Dissenters and the training of a native ministry for his church. In meeting these needs lies the great significance of his life and work. For Dissenters scarcely the rudiments of an education were obtainable. The one institution of learning, King's College at Windsor, though supported by the state, debarred four-fifths of the population from its advantages by the clause in its charter which required subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. In spite of much opposition from the Established Churches of England and Scotland, which had carried their hostility to Dissent and Secession to the New World, Dr. McCulloch opened Pictou Academy in 1817, and there laid the foundation of higher learning for Dissenters and the training of a native ministry for the Presbyterian Church. Dr. McCulloch was a man



of broad sympathies and wide interests, a writer of no mean ability and an indefatigable worker. He was keenly interested in natural science and did much to promote its development. That he was one who foresaw the educational needs of the New World is shown by this sentence written in 1838: "If Dalhousie College acquire usefulness and eminence, it will be not by an imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science and practical intelligence."

Written by his son and edited by his granddaughters, this life of Dr. Thomas McCulloch naturally contains many personal reminiscences; but it is based largely upon Dr. McCulloch's correspondence and upon official documents. While dealing with much that is of the nature of sectarian strife, the author has been singularly just and has indulged in no muck-raking. On the whole this work is doubtless one of the most important books that has appeared in the history of the province of Nova Scotia.

ROSS W. COLLINS.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Volume II, of the *Annual Report* for 1918, containing the autobiography of Martin Van Buren, perhaps the most valuable and interesting volume the Association has ever published, is in process of distribution to members. The *Handbook* of the Association is nearly ready for distribution.

Miss Grace G. Griffin's annual bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1918*, published at about the same time as the present number of this journal, is made up as a separate volume of the *Annual Report* for 1918. It is a volume of 192 pages, containing 2379 titles of books, pamphlets, and articles, and can be separately purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, for \$1.50.

The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of \$200 is to be awarded during the present year for the best monograph on any subject in European history received by the chairman of the committee, Dr. Conyers Read, 1218 Snyder Avenue, Philadelphia, before July 1, 1921. Published monographs which have appeared since July 1, 1919, as well as unpublished monographs, are eligible, but only monographs which are formally submitted will be considered. Copies of the rules may be obtained from the chairman.

The American Council of Learned Societies held its annual meeting at New York on January 29. The Association was represented by its two delegates, Professor Haskins and Mr. Jameson. In the absence of sufficient funds for effective co-operation with the other constituent members of the Union Académique Internationale, the Council was obliged in the main to content itself with consideration and approval of several projects which have been laid before the Union and by it transmitted to the constituent members for discussion and action. Special approval was manifested toward the project of a revised edition of, or modern substitute for, Du Cange's *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*. A committee will give further consideration to the problems of American participation in this enterprise; another committee, to the possibility of an American *Dictionary of National Biography*.

### PERSONAL

Professor Allen C. Thomas of Haverford College, one of the twelve surviving original members of the American Historical Association, died on December 15 at the age of nearly seventy-four. He had been pro-

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fessor of history in Haverford College from 1878 to 1912, a minister of the Society of Friends, and presiding clerk of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting since 1897. He was the author of school histories of the United States and, jointly with his brother, of a *History of the Society of Friends in America*, which passed through four editions. He was a man of the highest character, greatly esteemed and beloved.

William J. Trimble, professor of American history in the University of Idaho, died on December 31, at the age of forty-eight. He was a man of unusual originality and insight and, though he had published little, had won high regard as a student of the economic and social history of the United States.

Ernest Denis, professor of modern history in the Sorbonne, died on January 5, at the age of seventy-two. During an earlier professorship at Bordeaux, he had published works in Bohemian history, especially *La Chute de l'Indépendance Bohème* (1888-1889), and later *La Bohème depuis la Montagne Blanche* (1903). His later years were however chiefly marked by publications in modern German history: *L'Allemagne de 1789 à 1810* (1896); *L'Allemagne de 1810 à 1852* (1898); and *La Fondation de l'Empire Allemand* (1906).

Heinrich Friedjung, the eminent Austrian historian, died on July 14, at the age of sixty-nine. His high reputation as a scholar and as a gifted writer was established by his *Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland* (1897) in which the struggle ending in 1866 was for the first time adequately presented from the Austrian standpoint, yet with entire breadth of view. Later works of Friedjung are his *Geschichte Oesterreichs, 1848-1860* (1907-1912), and *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 1884-1914* (1919-1920).

Professor Theodor Schiemann of the University of Berlin died on January 26, at the age of seventy-three. A native of Courland, he was distinguished chiefly by publications of high merit on Russian history, of which the principal were his *Geschichte Russlands, Polens, und Livlands* (1885), and his *Geschichte Russlands unter Nikolaus I.* (1904, 1908).

Georg Busolt, professor of ancient history and historian of Greece, died in Göttingen on September 2, in his seventieth year.

Dr. Arthur H. Basye, assistant professor of history in Dartmouth College, sailed for London in February, having leave of absence during the second semester of the present academic year.

Mr. R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, has been teaching history in Columbia University throughout the present year.

Professor Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois has leave of absence during the present semester, and is spending it at Cambridge.

Professor Charles E. Chapman returned in January to his work at the University of California, from a year's absence as exchange professor in the University of Santiago de Chile.

In February and March Professor W. A. Morris of the University of California gave a course of six public lectures at King's College, University of London, on Curia Regis and Kingship in the Norman and Angevin Periods.

#### GENERAL

The House Committee on Appropriations having refused the Treasury's request that an appropriation for purchasing the square in Washington designated by the Public Buildings Commission for the National Archive Building be included in the recent Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, an amendment providing for the purchase was introduced in the Senate by Senator Poindexter, and favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Certain senators objected, however, to the closing of a short street, involved in the plan, and proposed instead the use of another square, already owned by the government. With this substitution, the amendment passed the Senate. When, however, it was discovered that the square thus designated was occupied by a two-story concrete building, 520 by 370 feet, which cost the government more than \$200,000, and which houses 3615 clerks, the amendment was, not unnaturally, dropped in conference. Accordingly, we are still without substantial provision for the proper housing of the national archives.

The *Historical Outlook* for January, February, and March has three interesting accounts of European conditions in recent months, as seen by Miss Lucy E. Textor, of Vassar College, Dr. Justin H. Smith, and Professor Lynn Thorndike. The January number reprints Mr. S. C. GilFillan's article on the Coldward Course of Progress, from the *Political Science Quarterly*. In the February number appears a long and vehement article by Professor H. E. Barnes, of Clark University, on the Past and the Future of History. The author describes forcibly and intelligently the shifting of emphasis which has been going on for fifty years in historical writing, under the influence of ideas of social evolution, and pleads for further progress in the same direction; but it is unnecessary to assume that the "prevalent type of historian", and especially the typical historical professor, remains ignorant of these "new" views or is unwilling to support them. The March number presents a summary of Russian conditions by Professor C. C. Eckhardt, a Lesson on the Position of the Greek Slave in Ancient Attica, by Miss Chloe M. Hardy, and two portions of a Report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship, namely, an introductory statement by its chairman, Dr. Joseph Schafer, and Professor Henry Johnson's address at the Washington meeting, on History in the Grades.

Mainly by the munificence of an anonymous donor, the University

of London has been provided with a building for its School of Historical Research. It is being erected in Malet Street, not far from the British Museum, and is intended to be the centre for that advanced work in history which the university has of late so rapidly developed. It is hoped by many that before long the university may be provided with an endowed chair of American history. In connection with the opening of the School, the University of London proposes to hold a conference of British, American, and Canadian professors of history in London during the week beginning July 11 next. The main object will be to make known the facilities available in London for historical students seeking the Ph.D. degree or pursuing more advanced researches.

In the series of volumes of original material entitled *Records of Civilization*, projected and edited by Professor J. T. Shotwell and published by the Columbia University Press, two are now in press: *An Introduction to the History of Historiography*, by Professor Shotwell, extending to Eusebius, inclusive, and a volume on *The Literature of the Old Testament*, edited by Professor Julius Bewer of Union Theological Seminary. Professor Shotwell and Miss Louise R. Loomis have also in preparation a volume of *Sources for the History of the Papacy*, to Gregory I., inclusive, other than the *Liber Pontificalis*, which has already been presented by Miss Loomis in the same series.

The syndics of the Cambridge University Press have undertaken to publish, in three volumes, the *Collected Papers* of Sir Adolphus W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse. The first two volumes, containing the historical papers, are already published (pp. xii, 408; viii, 398) and contain nearly forty essays by this veteran historian, beginning with the notable essay on the Peace of Europe which he contributed to the *Owens College Essays* in 1874, and relating mainly to diplomatic and German history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Messrs. Heinemann of London will shortly publish, under the title, *Theory and History of Historiography*, part IV. of the English translation of Dr. Benedetto Croce's *Philosophy of the Spirit*.

An article on the Use of the Word "History", by Professor Jacob N. Bowman of the University of Washington, comes to us as a reprint from the "Festschrift" *Forschungen und Versuche*, dedicated to Professor Dietrich Schäfer on his seventieth birthday.

Dr. R. L. Marshall's pamphlet on *The Historical Criticism of Documents* (Macmillan, pp. 62), no. 28 in the series of *Helps for Students of History*, is a useful essay, allied to that of Mr. Crump on *The Logic of History*, and containing many interesting examples.

The first regular volume in the hundred-volume series edited by Henri Berr under the title of *L'Évolution de l'Humanité* is *La Terre avant l'Histoire, les Origines de la Vie et de l'Homme* (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1921, pp. 415) by E. Perrier.

Professor Ernst Troeltsch has published an essay on *Die Dynamik der Geschichte nach der Geschichtsphilosophie des Positivismus* (Berlin, Reuthner and Reichard, 1919, pp. 100). Attention may also be called to Proesler's *Das Problem einer Entwicklungsgeschichte des Historischen Sinnes* (Berlin, Ebering, 1920).

*Europe and the Faith* (London, Constable, 1920) by Hilaire Belloc is a sketch of the history of Christianity in Europe prefaced by a chapter on the Catholic Conscience of History. The work is bound to attract wide attention and radically different criticisms. As an illustration attention may be called to the article, *Catholicism and Civilisation*, by G. G. Coulton in the *Hibbert Journal* for January.

*A Syllabus in Modern European History from Charlemagne to the Present*, by Professor William T. Morgan and Mr. Prescott W. Townsend of Indiana University, is a pamphlet of 154 pages, carefully worked out, and may be commended to teachers.

The January, February, and March numbers of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contain a useful list of references on Japanese-American relations. The February number contains also a description of the Kennan Collection, an important mass of manuscript, pictorial, and printed material on Siberia, the old prison system, and Russia, lately presented to the library by Mr. George Kennan.

Half of the January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* is occupied with a treatise on the Problem of Saint Brendan, by Professor Joseph Dunn. Professor Guilday, the editor, gives an account of the materials for the history of the Congregation of the Propaganda, apropos of the three-hundredth anniversary of its foundation in 1622, and an interesting survey of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States since 1870. Rev. F. G. Holweck presents an American Martyrology. The chief original document in the number is a "Ragguaglio dello Stato della Religione Cattolica nelle Colonie Inglesi d'America", of date of about 1775, from the archives of the Propaganda. With this number, the *Review* completes six years of admirable service under Dr. Guilday's editorship to the history of the Catholic Church in America. It is announced that, beginning with the April number, and the seventh volume, the scope of the *Review* will be enlarged to include the whole field of Catholic church history. The board of editors will consist of the rector and historical teachers of the Catholic University of America; the managing editor will be Rev. Dr. Patrick W. Browne.

The American Jewish Historical Society met in Philadelphia February 21 and 22. There were papers by Professor Gotthard Deutsch on plans for modern Jewish history, by Dr. Harold Korn on plans for future research in American Jewish history, by Max J. Kohler on Jewish Immigration to the United States and the Principle of the Right of Asylum, by the Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer on Early American

Jewish Correspondence with Jews of the Far East, and by Dr. Abraham S. W. Roserbach on Jewish Participation in the Discovery and Settlement of the West in the Eighteenth Century.

The *Journal of Negro History* for January contains a valuable article by the editor, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, entitled Fifty Years of Negro Citizenship as qualified by the United States Supreme Court (pp. 53), and one by Mr. J. F. Rippey of Chicago on a Negro Colonization Project in Mexico in 1895. The section of documents presents President Madison's attitude toward the negro in a series of his letters, already published.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume designated *Taft Papers on League of Nations* (pp. 340), edited by Theodore Marburg and Horace E. Flack. The volume includes addresses, articles, and editorials by ex-President Taft from May 12, 1915, to April 30, 1919; accordingly with the exception of the last article, which is an analysis of the amended Covenant, the discussion is upon the plan of the League to Enforce Peace and upon the Covenant of the League of Nations as submitted to the Senate by President Wilson. The volume closes with some correspondence between Mr. Taft and the President or with the President's secretary.

Persons who buy books by title should be warned that *The Origin and Evolution of Freemasonry connected with the Origin and Evolution of the Human Race*, by Albert Churchward (New York, Macmillan), is not to be taken as a historical work of serious value.

A limited number of copies of the annual *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at the Chief American Universities, December, 1920*, may be obtained from J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Some of the earlier issues can also be furnished.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. C. Merriam, *The Earth Sciences as the Background of History* (Scientific Monthly, January); F. H. Giddings, *A Theory of History* (Political Science Quarterly, December); E. Troeltsch, *Der Aufbau der Europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLIV. 3); S. J. Case, *The Historical Study of Religion* (Journal of Religion, January); E. Hurwicz, *Russische Geschichtsphilosophie* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); H. Delbrück, *Die Marxsche Geschichtsphilosophie* (*ibid.*, November).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

The useful index volume for E. Cavaignac's *Histoire de l'Antiquité* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. 120) is now available.

We should have mentioned earlier the new and valuable periodical *Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia*, edited by Professor Aristide Calderini, professor of papyrology at Milan. The

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contents are of the usual variety, articles, notes, reviews, etc. The price of the annual subscription, for the United States, is \$3.00, and the address is 25 Via Borgonuovo, Milan.

The French institute at Cairo has recently published the fourth and fifth volumes of H. Gauthier's *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*. In its general character this standard work is based on Lepsius's *Königsbuch* (1858) and gives all the citations of royal names from the monuments and papyri. The greatest wealth of new material is evident in these volumes, which cover the period of the Ptolemies and of the Roman emperors.

J. B. Nies has edited a volume of *Ur Dynasty Tablets chiefly from Tello and Drehem with Translation Lists and Complete Indices* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1919, pp. viii, 224); and O. Schroeder, a volume of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, verschiedenen Inhalts, Autographien* (*ibid.*, 1920, pp. xxviii, 124). B. Meissner has issued the first volume of an amply illustrated work on *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1920, pp. viii, 466).

Mr. Champlin Burrage, formerly librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, and of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, is completing a study of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Minoan Crete (not including the later linear scripts). He hopes shortly to be able to show that he has deciphered many of the more interesting texts. Mr. Burrage began his Cretan studies twelve years ago at Oxford.

S. Reinach has compiled a volume of *Textes Grecs et Latins relatifs à l'Histoire de la Peinture Ancienne* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1920, pp. xv, 656), with translations and comments.

Dr. Frederick Poulsen's *Delphi*, which presents in admirable fashion a comprehensive and well-illustrated account of the excavations at Delphi since 1892, appeared in Danish in 1919, but now is published in an English translation (Copenhagen, Gyldendal).

P. M. Meyer has prepared a useful volume of *Juristische Papyri, Erklärung von Urkunden zur Einführung in die Juristische Papyruskunde* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. xx, 380) which contains over ninety basic or typical documents, topically arranged and excellently edited, for the legal and juristic history of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.

The fourth part of G. Beseler's *Beiträge zur Kritik der Römischen Rechtsquellen* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920, pp. vi, 353) is among the recent publications.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Berosos' Chronologie und die Keilinschriftlichen Neufunde*, III.-IV. (*Klio*, XVI, 1, 3); F. Bilabel, *Die Ionische Kolonisation, Untersuchungen über die Gründungen der Ionier, deren Staatliche und Kultliche Organisation und Beziehungen zu den Mutterstädten* (*Philologus*, Supplementband,

XIV. 1); Percy Gardner, *The Financial History of Ancient Chios* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, XL. 2); E. Kornemann, *Die Letzten Ziele der Politik Alexanders des Grossen* (Klio, XVI. 3); W. L. Westermann, *Land Registers of Western Asia under the Seleucids* (Classical Philology, January); M. Gelzer, *Die Entstehung der Römischen Nobilität* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIII. 1); P. Lejay, *Appius Claudius Caecus* (Revue de Philologie, April, 1920); M. Besnier, *Le Commerce Romain dans la Méditerranée Orientale* (Journal des Savants, November); D. McFayden, *The Princeps and the Senatorial Provinces* (Classical Philology, January); A. M. Ashley, *The "Alimenta" of Nerva and his Successors* (English Historical Review, January); R. G. Kent, *The Edict of Diocletian fixing Maximum Prices* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, November).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The wealth of new materials which have appeared since the publication of Schulze's work (1887-1892) is digested by Professor J. Geffcken in *Der Ausgang des Griechisch-Römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1920, pp. viii, 342) which deals with the steady triumph of Christianity in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. The same author's *Aus der Wendezeit des Christentums* has been revised and reissued with the new title, *Das Christentum im Kampf und Ausgleich mit der Griechisch-Römischen Welt* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920).

V. Schultze's *Grundriss der Christlichen Archäologie* (Munich, Beck, 1919, pp. viii, 159) will prove a useful manual.

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Bollandist Society has for sale, at the price of \$1000, a complete set of the *Acta Sanctorum*, of which complete sets are not easily to be procured. The purchase money will of course be a sensible aid to the work of this famous company of scholars, whose resources have been very seriously affected by the war. Any American library which desires to purchase the set may address the president of the society, Father Hippolyte Delehaye, Boulevard Saint-Michel, 22, Brussels, Belgium.

Ernest Perels, who edited the letters of Pope Nicholas I. for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1912, has now published *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius Bibliothecarius, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papsttums im Neunten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. xii, 327). The latest portion of *Les Registres d'Innocent IV.* (Paris, Boccard, 1920), edited by E. Berger, contains an additional section of that pope's letters. G. Daumet has edited *Benoît XII., 1334-1342, Lettres Closes, Patentes, et Curiales se rapportant à la France* (*ibid.*).

The third and fourth volumes of the *Collected Historical Works of Sir Francis Palgrave* (Cambridge University Press) complete the His-

*tory of Normandy and England* and include also a number of essays in medieval history privately printed in Sir Francis Palgrave's lifetime and now published for the first time.

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Lord Bryce's *Modern Democracies*, just published, is described as presenting a general view of the forms which that type of government has taken, the tendencies which each form has developed, the progress achieved in creating institutional machinery, and the degree of success attained by democracy in ministering to the well-being of peoples.

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw has prepared *Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, a dozen maps with 39 pp. of text, published at 6 sh.

The second volume, dealing with the year 1464, of the *Dépêches des Ambassadeurs Milanais en France sous Louis XI. et François Sforza* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1919, pp. xxxiv, 395) was edited by B. de Mandrot, who died in April, 1920.

Sir Plunket Barton's *Bernadotte and Napoleon, 1799-1810* (Murray), is a continuation of his *Bernadotte: the First Phase, 1763-1799*, published a few years ago.

Captain Castex, chief of the historical section of the French naval General Staff, has written a *Synthèse de la Guerre Sous-marine, de Pontchartrain à Tirpitz* (Paris, Challamel, 1920).

The Cambridge University Press announces a new work by J. H. Clapham on the *Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914*.

G. Egelhaaf's *Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit vom Frankfurter Frieden bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, Krabbe, 1920, 2 vols., pp. x, 470; 537) has appeared in the eighth edition, which runs to the Treaty of Versailles, the second volume being devoted to the period since the Russo-Japanese War.

Especial importance attaches to *Pre-War Diplomacy: the Russo-Japanese Problem*, by J. J. Korostovetz (London, British Periodicals Ltd.), a daily chronicle of the Portsmouth Peace Conference in 1905, from the fact that the writer was Count Witte's private secretary during the conference.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Charles Terlinden, *The Order of the Golden Fleece* (Edinburgh Review, October); D. Pasquet, *La Découverte de l'Angleterre par les Français au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, I. (Revue de Paris, December 15); A. S. Hershey, *Notes on the Recognition of de Facto Governments by European States* (American Journal of International Law, October); J. H. Clapham, *Europe after the Great Wars*,

1816 and 1920 (Economic Journal, December); J. Reinach, *La France et l'Allemagne devant l'Histoire*, I. *Le Nouvel Équilibre* [1815] (Revue Bleue, January 1); Commandant Weil, *Guizot and the Entente Cordiale* (History, January); E. von Wertheimer, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges von 1870 nach Neuen Quellen*, I.-II. (Deutsche Rundschau, October, November); Count Sergius Witte, *Memoirs: My Meetings with the Kaiser; My Dealings with Li Hung Chang; "Bloody Sunday" and the First Soviet; My Visit to America and the Portsmouth Peace Conference* (World's Work, December-March); "Observator", *La Suède et la Politique Allemande* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXIV. 3); XXX, *Fiume, l'Adriatique, et les Rapports Franco-Italiens*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); H. A. Siepmann, *The International Financial Congress at Brussels* (Economic Journal, December); anon., *The International Financial Conference at Brussels and its Lessons* (Round Table, December); F. Delhorbe, *La Conférence de Bruxelles, ses Résultats, ses Conséquences* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 23).

#### THE GREAT WAR

Under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace the Oxford University Press will soon issue two volumes of importance: *War Government in the Dominions*, by A. B. Keith, and *Inter-allied Shipping Control: an Experiment in International Administration*, by J. A. Salter, parts of a large series of volumes relating to the economic and social history of the Great War, which the Endowment has in preparation, under the editorial care of Professor J. T. Shotwell.

Count Julius Andrassy, who for several years had been one of the leading public men of Austria-Hungary, and was minister of foreign affairs during the last few days of the monarchy, has published an important review of the events at the beginning of the war and of the diplomacy during its continuance, under the title *Diplomatie und Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Ullstein).

Generals Dubail and Fayolle have undertaken the editing of *La Guerre racontée par nos Généraux commandants de Groupes d'Armée* (Paris, Schwarz) of which parts are to appear monthly for thirty months. A similar work prepared by numerous collaborators devoted to *La Guerre et la Science* (*ibid.*) will appear in 100 parts. The third volume of H. de Rothschild and L. G. Gourraigne's *La Grande Guerre d'après la Presse Parisienne* (Paris, Hachette, 1920) covers events to the end of 1914. In the first volume of *La Guerre de la Délivrance* (Paris, Gigord, 1920, pp. xl, 495), General Cherfils deals with operations during the first year of the war. Maurice Barrès completes the account for the year 1914 in the second volume of his *Chronique de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 360), while the third volume of L. Cornet's *Histoire de la Guerre*

(Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1920, pp. 342) extends to September, 1915, and the ninth volume of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 500) to August, 1916.

The discussion of the conduct of operations by the French General Staff is continued by E. Lenient in *La Faute Capitale du Haut Commandement* (Paris, Éditions de l'Armée Nouvelle, 1920, pp. viii, 207). The discussion turns primarily on questions of general policies and shows that the author has utilized opportunities to obtain inside information. General A. Dubois, the commander of the sixth army, has used a wealth of documents in *Deux Ans de Commandement sur le Front de France* (2 vols., Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1920, pp. 280, 292), which is of special importance for the history of the battle of the Marne. Lt.-Col. de Thomasson's latest work deals with *Les Préliminaires de Verdun, Août 1915-Février 1916, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. x, 298).

General E. von Ludendorff has published a mass of *Urkunden der Obersten Heeresleitung* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920), and Col. G. Becker, *Trois Conférences sur Ludendorff, Chef d'Armée* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 106). A life of *Generalfeldmarschall Prinz Leopold von Bayern* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1920, pp. xii, 173) is by E. Wolbe. General von François, who was commander of the first army corps at Tannenberg, is the author of *Marneschlacht und Tannenberg* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 296). F. G. Iwand has published a supplement for the years 1904-1914 (Biberach am Riss, Hetsch, 1920, pp. 45) to P. Hirsch's *Bibliographie der Deutschen Regiments- und Bataillongeschichte*, while the intelligence section of the General Staff of the A. E. F. compiled *Histories of Two Hundred and Fifty-one Divisions of the German Army which Participated in the War, 1914-1918* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1920, pp. 748).

General von Falkenhayn is continuing the reminiscences which he began in *Die Oberste Heeresleitung* (see above, XXV. 500-502) by an additional volume, of a more personal sort, but also of much importance to the history of the war, *Der Feldzug der 9. Armee gegen die Rumänen und Russen, 1916-1917, I. Der Siegeszug durch Siebenbürgen* (Berlin, Mittler).

In the series *Les Grandes Batailles de la Guerre*, published under the direction of M. Joseph Reinach, a volume of the first excellence is *La Bataille de Verdun* (Paris, Van Oest), by Louis Gillet, a member of the French Second Army; it covers the whole series of battles at Verdun from 1915 to 1918. For the same series, General Berthaut has written an introductory volume, *De la Marne à la Mer du Nord, Vues d'Ensemble sur les Opérations Militaires, 1914-1918*; General Verraux, *La Bataille des Flandres en 1917*; Lt.-Col. Rousset, *La Bataille de l'Aisne*.

Baron A. de Maricourt, who was in positions close to Marshal Foch during the war, has written *Foch, une Lignée, une Tradition, un Caractère* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. xxvi, 237).

The German Marinearchiv has begun the publication of *Der Krieg zur See, 1914-1918*. The first volume of the section devoted to *Der Krieg in der Nordsee* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. 293) is by Capt. Groos; it furnishes a comparative estimate of the different naval fleets at the outbreak of war and deals with events during the first month of hostilities. The work is abundantly supplied with maps, charts, plans, and other illustrations. Vice-Admiral Bienaimé's *La Guerre Navale, 1914-1915, Fautes et Responsabilités* (Paris, Tallandier, 1920, pp. 308) is a well-documented discussion of affairs in Mediterranean and adjacent waters. Admiral Daveluy has issued the second volume of *L'Action Maritime pendant la Guerre Antigermanique* (Paris, Challamel, 1920). René La Bruyère has discussed a dozen different phases of the history of *Notre Marine Marchande pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 384).

*Gun-Running for Casement*, by Karl Spindler, late commander in the German navy (London, Collins), is furnished with an introduction by the late director of naval intelligence of the Admiralty, Sir W. R. Hall, M. P., and casts new light on the Irish rebellion of Easter, 1916, from German sources.

General Count Cadorna has published a volume of *Documents Officiels du Grand-Quartier-Général Italien* (Paris, Chiron, 1920), and is preparing his memoirs, which will appear in two volumes, the second of which will be devoted to the refutation of the charges developed by the parliamentary investigating commission headed by Senator General Caneva, whose report has been published in three volumes. Another important critique of the conduct of the Supreme Command has been issued by the retired General Ettore Viganò, under the title *La Nostra Guerra: come fu Preparata e come è stato Condotta sino al Novembre 1917* (Florence, Le Monnier). *Per la Verità* (Milan, Treves, 1920, pp. xvi, 293) is the personal defense of Gen. L. Capello in reply to the Caneva report in so far as it seeks to charge him with serious blame for the disaster of Caporetto. Col. E. Barone's *Storia Militare della Nostra Guerra fino a Caporetto* (Bari, Lateraza, 1919, pp. 222) is an excellent summary of Italy's campaigns in the war.

Messrs. Constable of London are issuing in English Prince Sixte of Bourbon-Parma's full account of *Austria's Peace Offer* (pp. 360), published with a prefatory letter by the prince, who has entrusted the task of setting forth the notes in detail and editing the documents concerned to Mr. G. de Manteyer; French edition, *L'Offre de Paix Séparée de l'Autriche* (Paris, Plon).

Additional discussions of the negotiations, provisions, and effects of the peace treaties will be found in R. Moulin's *L'Année des Diplomates*,

1919 (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 241); L. Marin's *Le Traité de Paix* (Paris, Floury, 1920); R. G. Lévy's *La Juste Paix ou la Vérité sur le Traité de Versailles* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 290); J. Denier's *La Question des Iles Aland, Étude Critique du Rapport de la Commission des Juristes* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 56); and in the issues of the *Round Table* for July and September, 1920.

*Simsadus, London: the American Navy in Europe* (New York, Henry Holt) derives its name from the cable address (an abbreviation of "Sims, Admiral, U. S.") of the headquarters of Admiral Sims in London. The author, Mr. John L. Leighton, held a temporary naval rank and served in the intelligence section of Admiral Sims's staff there. The book therefore, though it pretends to no official authority, is of much value.

*My Campaign in Mesopotamia* (London, Butterworth, 1920, pp. 400), by General Sir Charles V. F. Townshend, is one of the books which is assured of a permanent place in the history of the Great War.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Maj.-Gen. Sir F. Maurice, *The Versailles Supreme War Council* (Army Quarterly, January); Col. Charles Grant, *The Commander-in-Chief of the Forces on the Western Front* (*ibid.*); A. Veymon, *La Méthode de Commandement de Foch* (Revue de Paris, December 1); P. Conard, *Falkenhayn et son Livre sur le Haut Commandement Allemand* (Revue du Mois, September 10); M. Hobohm, *Delbrück, Clausewitz, und die Kritik des Weltkrieges* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); Captain A. C. Dewar, *Reorganization of the Naval Staff, 1917-1919* (Quarterly Review, January); David Hannay, *The Battle of Jutland* (Edinburgh Review, January); A. Salandra, *La Questione dell' Alto Adige* (Nuova Antologia, October 16); E. Daniels, *Der Kampf um die Dardanellen im Jahre 1915* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); E. Daudet, *Quelques Scènes du Drame Hellénique, Juin-Décembre, 1916* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15, December 1, January 1); W. C. Abbott, *Histories of the World War* (Yale Review, April).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Dr. Reginald Lane Poole has retired from the editorship of the *English Historical Review*, of which he was assistant editor from 1895 to 1901 and had sole charge from that date until the present. The journal which he has conducted with so much scholarship and good judgment during so many years will hereafter be edited by Mr. G. N. Clark, whose editorship begins with the January number. In that number the first article is a very interesting account of the early days of the *Review* by Dr. Poole.

The Royal Historical Society has just issued a *Repertory of British Archives*, part I., England, compiled by Mr. Hubert Hall, with the



assistance of research students of the University of London; also volume XIII. of the *Camden Miscellany*.

In the *English Historical Review* for January, 1917, Professor C. H. Firth traced the history of Modern History in Oxford, 1724-1841. Its subsequent fortunes he now traces in a pamphlet *Modern History in Oxford, 1841-1918* (Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 51) in which every university teacher of history will find a great deal to interest him.

The fifth volume of the British Academy's series in economic history is *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (Humphrey Milford, pp. cxliv, 554), brought together from various collections and edited by Professor F. M. Stenton of University College, Reading.

The late Archdeacon Cunningham's wide knowledge of the buildings as well as the history of English towns gives special interest to his posthumous publication in the pamphlet series of *Helps for Students of History*, no. 26, *Monuments of English Municipal Life* (S. P. C. K.). In the same society's pamphlet series *Texts for Students*, no. 23 is a most interesting group of *Select Extracts illustrating Sports and Pastimes in the Middle Ages*, edited by E. L. Guilford.

The Oxford University Press has just published in the series of *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies* a volume (X.) on *The Puritans in Ireland*, by the Rev. St. John D. Seymour. Volume XI. of that series is *The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn*, with a commentary by H. Maynard Smith.

*The Inclosure and Redistribution of Our Land*, by W. H. R. Curtler (Oxford, Clarendon Press), takes up with especial thoroughness the inclosures of common lands effected by acts of Parliament between 1700 and 1876. It is an important contribution to its subject.

*A Life of the late Lord Salisbury*, in two volumes, by his daughter Lady Gwendolen Cecil, is announced for publication by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

*The Life of Sir William White, K.C.B., F.R.S.* (Murray), by Frederic Manning, is the biography of a great naval architect who designed more than 250 war ships and had an important part in organizing Great Britain's naval resources.

The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has now added vol. I. of an *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex* (H. M. Stationery Office) to the volumes published before the war on Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire; it deals with eighty-two parishes in northwestern Essex.

Miss Flora Thomas's pamphlet *The Builders of Milford* (Haverfordwest, *Pembrokeshire Telegraph*, pp. 39) has an American interest

from the fact that the foundation of Milford, under the proprietor Charles Francis Greville, was due to Nantucket Starbucks and Folgers, exiled as Loyalists.

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for January the principal articles are one by J. Duncan Mackie on Queen Mary's Jewels and one by Canon Wilson on the Passages of Saint Malachy through Scotland.

Messrs. Methuen and Company have published, as the Rhind Lectures in archaeology for 1919-1920, by Mr. John Warrack, a volume on *Domestic Life in Scotland, 1488-1688: a Sketch of the Development of Furniture and Household Usage* (pp. xvi, 213).

We have just received *A Guide to the Records deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland* (Dublin, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. xvii, 334), by Herbert Wood, assistant deputy keeper of the public records of Ireland, a remarkably thorough and systematic manual long needed.

Mr. Robert H. Murray's three pamphlets on Ireland, in the series of *Helps for Students of History*, treat in detail of the original and secondary materials for the history of that country from 1494 to 1829 (New York, Macmillan, pp. 32, 48, 47).

*The Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire* is a new journal published in London, beginning in 1920, which supplies a quarterly digest of the debates and legislation of the parliaments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland.

The November number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* contains the first installment of a History of the Victorian Ballot, by Professor Ernest Scott, and the concluding installment of Australian Place Names, by Thomas O'Callaghan.

British government publications: *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, second edition, ed. R. H. Brodie, volume I., parts 1, 2, 3; *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, n. s., vol. VIII. [to 1713] (Historical Manuscripts Commission).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Strecker, *Zu den Quellen für das Leben des Hl. Ninian* (Neues Archiv, XLIII. 1); M. Deanesly, *Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Modern Language Review, October); P. H. Winfield, *The Early History of Criminal Conspiracy* (Law Quarterly Review, July-October); William Muss-Arnolt, *Puritan Efforts and Struggles, 1550-1603, a Bio-bibliographical Study*, I. (American Journal of Theology, July-October); Godfrey Davies, *The Battle of Edgehill* (English Historical Review, January); Capt. Stephen Gwynn, *Beginnings of Irish History* (Edinburgh Review, January); John Hays Hammond, *South African Memories: Rhodes, Barnato, Burnham* (Scribner's Magazine, March).

## FRANCE

The first volume of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920, pp. xxxii, 355), edited by J. Viard, includes material to the time of Clotaire II.

The Oxford University Press is about to publish *The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny*, by Miss L. M. Smith of Somerville College, Oxford, based on original sources.

*Rois et Serfs, un Chapitre d'Histoire Capétienne* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 224) is a study by Professor Marc Bloch of Strasburg.

H. Furgeot has edited a volume of the *Actes du Parlement de Paris* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. iv, 465) for the years 1328-1342, continuing Boutaric.

Two recent monographs on the history of the Huguenots in France are *L'Invasion Calviniste en Bas-Limousin, Périgord, et Haut-Quercy* (Paris, Picard, 1920), by R. de Boysson, and *Les Guerres de Religion à Nant et le Pays d'Extrême Haute-Marche de Rouergue* (Rodez, Carrère, 1920, pp. 166), by E. Mazel. For a later period may be cited the scholarly work of A. Le Roux on *Les Religionnaires de Bordeaux de 1685 à 1802* (Bordeaux, Féret, 1920, pp. 381), which deals with the Huguenots during the century of suppression and persecution.

Pierre Coste has begun the publication of *Saint Vincent de Paul, Correspondance, Entretiens, Documents* (Paris, Gabalda, 1920); the first volume (pp. xxxix, 624) contains the correspondence for the years 1607-1639.

For the series *Figures du Passé*, Madame Saint-René Taillandier, a niece of Taine, has written *Madame de Maintenon, l'Énigme de sa Vie auprès du Grand Roi* (Paris, Hachette, 1920). For A. de Boislisle's edition of the *Mémoires de Saint-Simon* for the collection of *Grands Écrivains de France*, an index (Paris, Hachette, 1920, 2 vols., pp. viii, 404, 345) has been prepared covering the first twenty-eight volumes which bring the narrative to the death of Louis XIV. The twenty-ninth volume, which deals with the opening months of the reign of Louis XV., has also appeared.

A new life of *Marie-Antoinette*. (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1920) is by the Marquis de Ségur of the French Academy.

The Société d'Histoire Contemporaine has renewed its activities with the publication of the first volume of *Actes du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire, 22 Août 1793—27 Juillet 1794* (Paris, Picard, 1920, pp. lxxiv, 590), edited by A. Cochin and C. Charpentier. *Les Derniers Corsaires Malouins, La Course sous la République et l'Empire, 1793-1814* (Rennes, Oberthur, 1919, pp. xxiii, 356) is a careful and interesting contribution to French maritime history by Abbé F. Robidou.

The *Discours Civiques de Danton* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1920) have been published under the editorship of H. Fleischmann. *Le Père Duchesne, Hébert, et la Commune de Paris, 1792-1794* (Paris, Ambert, 1920) is by P. d'Estrée. A. Beaunier deals with the period 1786-1790 in the second volume of his *Joubert et la Révolution* (Paris, Perrin, 1919, pp. 353). P. and M. de Pradel de Lamase have published from family papers *Nouvelles Notes Intimes d'un Émigré, le Chevalier de Pradel de Lamase, Officier à l'Armée de Condé* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1920). W. Bauer has translated the souvenirs of F. C. Laukhard under the title *Un Allemand en France sous la Terreur* (Paris, Perrin, 1919, pp. 396; review by A. Mathiez, *Annales Révolutionnaires*, March, 1920, throwing doubts on veracity of the narrative). A. Depréaux has published *L'Odyssée d'un Orléanais pendant la Révolution, Souvenirs de Charles Levé* (Paris, Clavreuil, 1920).

Lt.-Col. Tournès's monograph on *La Garde Nationale dans le Département de la Meurthe pendant la Révolution, 1789-1802* (Angers, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Publicité, 1920, pp. xxiii, 301) is the best work yet done on the National Guard and should be a model for future studies of the sort. Of similar high character is Abbé M. Giraud's *Essai sur l'Histoire Religieuse de la Sarthe de 1789 à l'An IV*. (Paris, Jouve, 1920, pp. 691). *L'Idée Régionaliste sous la Révolution* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 123) is by L. Dubreuil.

Mr. H. N. B. Richardson has published a useful *Dictionary of Napoleon and his Times*, alphabetically arranged, with maps, plans, a chronological table, and a classified bibliography (London, Cassell, pp. 490).

Col. Frignet-Despréaux, grand-nephew of Mortier, who published in 1913 and 1914 the first two volumes of *Le Maréchal Mortier, Duc de Trévise*, has now brought out the third volume (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 434) which relates to the years 1804-1807. The latest Napoleonic study by F. Masson is *La Vie et les Conspirations du Général Malet, 1754-1812* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1921). Arthur Chuquet has begun a series of volumes on *Les Cents Jours*, with one relating to *Le Départ de l'Île d'Elbe* (Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. 202).

*Le Courrier de M. Thiers* (Paris, Payot, pp. 500), edited by Daniel Halévy, is a collection of Thiers's correspondence, selected by Thiers himself from among the documents bequeathed by him to the Bibliothèque Nationale, and revised by his sister-in-law Mlle. Dosne.

Lt.-Col. E. Simond has continued his *Histoire de la Troisième République* with a volume on the *Présidence de MM. Casimir-Périer et Félix Faure* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1921, pp. 356). *Le Cœur de Gambetta* (*ibid.*, pp. 238), by F. Laur, contains accounts not only of Gambetta's relations with women and his fatal accident but also of his relations with Bismarck and Leo XIII. The second volume of L. Delabrousse's *Joseph*

*Magnin et son Temps, 1824-1910* (Paris, Alcan, 1920) deals with the events of 1870 and his services as minister of finance and as governor of the Bank of France.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Weise, *Staatliche Baufronden in Fränkischer Zeit* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XV. 3); A. Gérard, *La Tradition Française dans la Politique des Frontières, le "Système Classique" de Notre Diplomatie* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXIV. 3); F. Meinecke, *Die Lehre von den Interessen der Staaten im Frankreich Richelieus* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIII. 1); C. de la Roncière, *Un Grand Navigateur Parisien: Bougainville, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Revue Hebdomadaire, November 20, 27); G. Hardy, *Robespierre et la Question Noire* (Annales Révolutionnaires, September); M. Dommanget, *Les Pratiques Cultuelles, les Miracles, et le Fanatisme Révolutionnaires* (ibid., November); G. Vauthier, *Les Missions Religieuses sous la Restauration* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); E. Faguet, *Thiers* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, 15); Abbé Félix Klein, *Breaking and Renewing Diplomatic Relations between France and the Holy See* (Catholic World, February).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

<sup>1</sup> General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1920* (Rivista Storica Italiana, October).

The following contributions of interest have recently been made to the history of Rome in the medieval and Renaissance periods: A. de Bovard, *Le Régime Politique et les Institutions de Rome au Moyen Age, 1252-1347* (Paris, Boccard, 1920, pp. xxx, 362); E. Schoenian, *Die Idee der Volkssouveränität im Mittelalterlichen Rom* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1919, pp. 128); L. Pastor, *Die Stadt Rom zu Ende der Renaissance* (Freiburg, Herder, 1920, pp. xviii, 138); and H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz* (2 vols., Berlin, Grote, 1920).

Among recent biographical studies connected with Italian history are R. de la Sizeranne's *Béatrice d'Este et sa Cour* (Paris, Hachette, 1920); A. Rampolla Gambino's *Fra Paolo Sarpi* (Palermo, Trimarchi, 1919, pp. viii, 210); and L. Hautecoeur's *L'Italie sous le Ministère Orlando, 1917-1919* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 276).

Volumes II. and III. of *Mazzini's Letters to an English Family*, edited by E. F. Richards, will be published by John Lane this spring.

From the recent publications in Italian local history the following may be selected for mention: E. Mavaresi, *Gli Atti del Comune de Milano fino all'Anno MCCXVI*. (Milan, Capriolo and Massimino, 1919, pp. ccxx, 730); H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* (vol. II., Gotha, Perthes, 1920, pp. xix, 701); N. P. Aldobrandini, *Le Monete di Venezia Descritte ed Illustrate* (vol. III., to 1797, Venice, Tip. Emiliana,

1919); and A. Monti, *La Compagnia di Gesù nel Territorio della Provincia Torinese, Memorie Storiche* (vol. V., Chieri, Ghirardi, 1920, pp. 628).

J. M. Burnam has issued the second portion of his *Palaeographia Iberica* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 81-155, 20 plates) which contains facsimiles of Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries with notes and transcriptions.

*The Way of St. James*, by Miss Georgiana Goddard King (New York, Putnams, 3 vols., finely illustrated), is an account of the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, based on extended historical investigation and on careful travels along the pilgrim road from Toulouse to Santiago. The texts of early itineraries and narratives are printed in the third volume. Beside much picturesque detail respecting pilgrimage there is much information on the church architecture of Northern Spain.

Mme. Jane Dieulafoy has written a lively and intelligent account of the life and reign of *Isabelle la Grande, Reine de Castille, 1451-1504* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Stein, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Ravenna in Spättrömischer und Byzantinischer Zeit* (*Klio*, XVI. 1); M. Merore, *Die Aeltesten Venezianischen Staatsanleihen und ihre Entstehung* (*Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XV. 3); F. Ruffini, *Brofferio e Guerrazzi contro Cavour* (*Nuova Antologia*, October 1, 16, November 1); M. Albertoni, *Ricordi dell' Impresa di Roma nel 1870* (*ibid.*, September 16); G. Cavallari Cantalamessa, *Nel Cinquantenario dell' Entrata in Roma* (*ibid.*, October 1); L. Pfandl, ed., *Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii [Münzer], 1494-1495* (*Revue Hispanique*, XLVIII.); A. Marvaud, *L'Évolution Économique de l'Espagne au Cours de la Guerre Mondiale* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, August).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The historical commission connected with the Bavarian Academy of Sciences is instituting a new series of *Deutsche Geschichtsquellen*, devoted to materials for the history of Germany in the nineteenth century. The first issue was the journals, 1860-1871, of Dalwigk, prime minister of Hesse-Darmstadt, ed. Schüssler (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt). This will be followed by the memoirs of Minister du Thil, ed. H. Ulmann. Dr. Rudolf Hübner will edit for this series, from the papers of his grandfather, J. G. Droysen, the journals of the Committee of Seventeen and the Committee on the Constitution in the National Assembly of 1848, together with Droysen's diary for the same period. Other volumes will present papers of Joseph von Radowitz, ed. Möling, and of Lassalle, ed. G. Mayer.

A historical commission presided over by Dr. Lewald, assistant minister of foreign affairs, and including Professors Hans Delbrück and Hermann Oncken, and General von Freytag-Loringhoven, has been appointed to compile, out of materials in the Staatsarchiv in Berlin, a documentary history of the Great War and the approaches thereto.

The latest issue of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* is the fourth volume of the *Necrologia Germaniae* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. x, 792) devoted to the diocese of Passau, and edited by the late M. Fastlinger and by J. Sturm.

In the field of German economic history there may be noted such a general work as *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815 bis 1914* (Jena, Fischer, 1920, pp. x, 598) by A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, and such a detailed special study as *Neue Beiträge zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Württembergischen Bauernstandes* (Tübingen, Laupp, 1919, pp. vii, 210; x, 234) by Theodor Knapp.

The history of a century of the Prussian ministry of religious and educational affairs is told in E. Müsebeck's *Das Preussische Kultus-Ministerium vor 100 Jahren* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1918) and in R. Lüdicke's *Die Preussischen Kultusminister und ihre Beamten im Ersten Jahrhundert des Ministertums, 1817-1917* (*ibid.*).

Freiherr Lucius von Ballhausen has published a volume of *Bismarck-Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1920, pp. 590).

Dr. Ilse Neumann has published *Die Geschichte der Deutschen Reichsgründung nach den Memoiren von Sir Robert Morier: Darstellung und Kritik* (Berlin, Ebering, 1919, pp. xvi, 256).

Hildegard Katsch has undertaken to trace the development of Treitschke's political views in *Heinrich von Treitschke und die Preussisch-Deutsche Frage von 1860-1866* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1919, pp. xvi, 161). The views of a Württemberg leader are set forth by O. Schnizer in *Gustav Rümelins Politische Ideen* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1919).

A work of considerable significance is M. Erzberger's *Erlebnisse im Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1920; see article by M. Muret, *Revue de Paris*, November 15, 1920). The eminent German pacifist, Alfred Fried, has published *Mein Kriegs-Tagebuch* (vol. I., to July, 1915, Zurich, Rascher, 1918, pp. xxiv, 472). Professor C. Rist has discussed *Les Finances de Guerre de l'Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 296).

A life of *Louis II. de Bavière* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920) by Jacques Bainville, and *La Bavière et l'Empire Allemand: Histoire d'un Particularisme* (*ibid.*, pp. 264) by J. Rovère represent, perhaps, a present tendency to over-emphasize provincial and anti-Prussian sentiments.



G. Blondel has furnished a survey of *La Rhénanie, son Passé, son Présent, son Avenir* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 240), while Joseph Hansen has compiled *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der Politischen Bewegung, 1830-1850* (vol. I., Essen, Baedeker, 1919, pp. 944).

The name of the author, Gustav von Schmoller, is sufficient guarantee of the value of *Zwanzig Jahre Deutscher Politik, 1897-1917* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1920, pp. vi, 208). P. Zorn has discussed the relations between *Deutschland und die Beiden Haager Friedenskonferenzen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1920). F. von Bernhardt has published *Eine Weltreise, 1911-1912, und der Zusammenbruch Deutschlands, Eindrücke und Betrachtungen aus den Jahren 1911-1914, mit einem Nachwort aus dem Jahre 1919* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1920, pp. iv, 284, 230, 267), which has interest both because of the views of the author and of the class to which he belonged.

*Zur Orienthandelspolitik Oesterreichs unter Maria Theresia in der Zeit von 1740-1771* (Vienna, Hölder, 1919, pp. 130) is a monographic study by Marianne von Herzfeld.

Dr. Hanns Schlitter has published four volumes entitled *Aus Oesterreichs Vormärz* (Zurich, Amalthea-Verlag, 1920) dealing respectively with the situations in Galicia and Cracow, Bohemia, Hungary, and Lower Austria.

In *Une Démocratie Historique, la Suisse* (Paris, Hemmerlé, 1920, pp. 296) C. G. Picavet has undertaken an appreciation of national and political ideas and forces with special reference to events since the French Revolution and including the situation during and since the Great War.

A useful compilation is being prepared by M. Godet, H. Tubler, and V. Attinger to serve as a *Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse* (Neufchatel, Delachaux and Niestlé), of which the first part has now come from the press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. S. Hanna, *Siegfried-Arminius* (Journal of English and Germanic Philology, October); A. G'sell, *Die Vita des Erzbischofs Arnold von Mainz, 1153-1160, auf ihre Echtheit geprüft*, I. (Neues Archiv, XLIII. 1); A. Frey-Schlesinger, *Die Volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Habsburgischen Post im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XV. 3); H. O. Meisner, *Preussens Politische Stellung zwischen Frankreich und Russland bis zum Zwangsbündnis mit Napoleon I.* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); L. Fiesel, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Zollgeleits* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XV. 3); M. Barrière, *La "Kaiserkrisis", Novembre 1908* (Revue de Paris, November 15); H. Ulmann, *Heinrich von Treitschke und der Krieg* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); Theodore von Sosnosky, *The Last of the*

*Habsburgs* [Franz Josef, Franz Ferdinand, Karl] (Quarterly Review, January); J. and J. Tharaud, *Nos Enquêtes Bolchevistes de Hongrie*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In our review of Gosses and Japikse, *Handboek tot de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland* (XXIV. 663-664) it was mentioned that a portion of the narrative by Professor Gosses, the portion just preceding the year 1568, had not yet appeared. A fascicle containing these pages (cclvii-cccxxv), the table of contents, and the index, has now appeared (the Hague, Nijhoff) completing the volume.

In Professor Brugmans's beautifully illustrated series we now have, in two volumes from the hands of Professor P. J. Blok, an authoritative and masterly biography of their national hero, *Willem de Eerste, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff).

Volume XLV. of the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* contains a long history of Dutch whaling enterprise, from 1650 to 1800, well documented, by the German historian Dr. Hermann Wätjen, who thus occupied a long period of detention in Holland following his imprisonment in England and exchange.

During the time of the war and the German occupation of Belgium, Dr. Joseph Cuvelier, archivist of that kingdom, succeeded in publishing a number of valuable archive-inventories, of which we mention an *Inventaire des Archives Ecclésiastiques du Brabant* and an *Inventaire des Archives de l'Université d'État à Louvain et du Collège Philosophique, 1817-1835*; also vols. II. and III. of the lists of *Chartes et Cartulaires du Luxembourg*, and vols. VI. and VII. of the *Chartes et Cartulaires des Duchés du Brabant et de Limbourg et des Pays d'Outremeuse*.

The Belgian Historical Commission has committed to M. Vannérus the editing of a volume of censuses of the duchy of Luxemburg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. No. 3 of vol. LXXXIV. of the Commission's *Bulletin* contains a report, by Professor E. Hubert, on the papers, preserved at Siena, of Cardinal Chigi-Zondadari, papal nuncio in Belgium in 1786 and 1787, materials important for the history of the Belgian revolution.

The Belgian Academy of Sciences has resumed work upon the *Biographie Nationale* and expects to complete the printing of volume XXII. (letter S); also Professor Hubert's *Les Préliminaires de la Révolution Brabançonne*, and two prize essays, *Étude sur la Dette Publique en Belgique*, by E. Nicolai, and *Les Relations Commerciales de la Belgique et de l'Espagne*, by Joseph Lefevre.

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A sketch of *La Monarchie en Belgique sous Léopold I<sup>er</sup> et Léopold II*. (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920) is by Comte Louis de Lichtervelde.

Professor F. Mayence of the University of Louvain has edited *La Correspondance de S. E. le Cardinal Mercier avec le Gouvernement Général Allemand pendant l'Occupation, 1914-1918* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919, pp. xi, 506).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. des Ombiaux, *Le Gouvernement du Havre et sa Politique en Belgique Occupée* (Mercure de France, January 1).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Volume XIII. of *Islandica*, the annual published in this special field by the Cornell University Library, is a bibliography of the Eddas (pp. 95), prepared by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson.

A valuable contribution to Swedish historical bibliography is G. Rudbeek's *Skrifter till Sveriges Historia tryckta före År 1600* (Upsala, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1919, pp. xv, 270).

The *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. XLV., reports at full length upon the work of search and of the making of inventories carried out by the Germans in the archives of the Baltic provinces, Lithuania, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, during their occupation.

It is announced that Professor Paul Miliukov, the distinguished Russian historian and minister of foreign affairs in the Russian provisional government, has presented to Stanford University his entire private library, rich in books of Russian history. Professor Frank A. Golder, who is now in Europe gathering material for the Hoover war collection at Stanford University, has sent this collection from Finland to California.

Frau Gertrude Kircheisen, the wife of the historian of the Napoleonic period, has published a volume on *Katharina II*. (Munich, Müller, 1919).

Mr. W. Lyon Blease's *Suvorof* (London, Constable, pp. 350) is an important contribution to military history, based almost entirely upon Russian authorities.

An English translation of Alexander Iswolsky's memoirs has been published by Doubleday, Page, and Company under the title *Recollections of a Foreign Minister*.

The Russian-Bulgarian Publishing Company, of Sofia, has in the press Professor Paul Miliukov's *Istoria Vtoroi Russkoi Revolutzii* (History of the Second Russian Revolution), in four volumes, of which an English translation will doubtless be produced in time.

*Vospomenia, 1914-1919* (Berlin, J. Ladyshnikov), is a volume of recollections in Russian by J. B. Stankevich, a civilian who entered the Russian army early in the struggle, who, as commissar of the Northern front under the Kerensky government, was in close touch with both government and army, and who gives a valuable description of movements of opinion, feeling, and action, within the army.

A. Mazon, lecturer at the University of Strasburg, has compiled a convenient *Lexique de la Guerre et de la Révolution en Russie, 1914-1919* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. vi, 69). The views of a Russian observer are set forth by P. Schostakovsky in *Deux Ans et Demi au Pays des Bolcheviks* (Paris, Hemmerlé, 1920, pp. 172). L. Naudeau, who was a war correspondent and later prisoner in Russia, has given his record in *Les Dessous de Chaos Russe* (Paris, Hachette, 1920). *L'Oeuvre Économique des Soviets* (Paris, Povolozky, 1920) is by A. Axelrold, a Russian engineer who was entrusted with tasks of an economic character by the soviets. L. Galin has made a study of *Justice et Système Pénal de la Russie Révolutionnaire de l'Origine au Début de 1920* (Paris, Rousseau, 1920, pp. 117); and W. Mautner, of *Der Bolchevismus: Voraussetzungen, Geschichte, Theorie, zugleich eine Untersuchung seines Verhältnisses zum Marxismus* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1920, pp. xxiv, 368).

F. C. Zitelmann has discussed in full detail *Russland im Friedensvertrag von Versailles* (Berlin, Vahlen and Engelmann, 1920).

Some contributions to the history of the new Poland will be found in S. Szpotanski's *La Pologne Nouvelle et son Premier Chef d'État, Joseph Pilsudski* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1920, pp. 58); and in M. Pernot's *L'Épreuve de la Pologne* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 312) which is by an observer of recent events.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. R. Schröder, *Skandinavien und der Orient in Mittelalter* (Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, July, September); B. Liisberg, *Christian IV. and the Northwest Passage* (American Scandinavian Review, January); M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15).

#### SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

One of the later issues in the series of *Texts for Students* (London, S. P. C. K., pp. 47) is the early history of the Slavonic settlements in Dalmatia, Croatia, and Serbia, by the Emperor Constantine VII. Porphyrogenetos, being chapters taken from his treatise *De Administrando Imperio* and edited by Professor J. B. Bury.

A. Danon's *Contribution à l'Histoire des Sultans Osman II. et Moustafa I.* (Paris, Lipschutz, 1920) is a study of the assassination and usurpation effected in 1622 based upon thorough investigation of the

documentary sources in many languages. The event is presented as the beginning of Ottoman decadence.

Paxton Hibben presents a strong indictment of the Anglo-French policy in Greece and of the Venizelist administration in *Constantine I. and the Greek People* (New York, Century, 1920, pp. xvi, 592), which is now published as it was written in 1917. G. M. Melas has written *L'Ex-Roi Constantin, Souvenirs d'un Ancien Secrétaire* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 272). H. Massis and E. Helsey have marshalled a considerable array of documents in their denunciation of *La Trahison de Constantin* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920, pp. 132). E. Driault has published *La Renaissance de l'Hellénisme* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 243).

#### ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Oxford University Press is publishing a volume on *Cyprus under the Turks, 1571-1878*, by H. C. Luke, commissioner of Famagusta, described as "a record based on the archives of the English consulate in Cyprus under the Levant Company and afterward"—obviously new material.

A volume on *Le Protectorat Religieux de la France en Orient, Étude Historique et Politique* (Avignon, Aubanel, 1920, pp. xiii, 222) is by P. Chaleb; and one on *La France en Syrie et en Cilicie* (Paris, Librairie Indépendante, 1920, pp. 215) is by Dr. G. Gautherot, who was chief of the bureau of operations of the French troops in the Levant.

P. G. La Chesnais is the author of *Les Peuples de la Transcaucasie pendant la Guerre et devant la Paix* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 220), and Dr. J. Loris-Mélicof, of *La Révolution Russe et les Nouvelles Républiques Transcausasiennes, Bolchevisme et Anti-bolchevisme* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 214). *La Tragédie Sibérienne* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1920, pp. 256) by J. Lasies, who was the head of the French military mission in Siberia, includes discussions of French policy and of the fate of the Tsar and his family and of Kolchak.

Professor Henri Cordier has published a second volume of *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales* (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1920). The first volume appeared in 1914. E. Aymonier is the author of an *Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge* (Paris, Challamel, 1920).

A new volume in the Clarendon Press series of *Histories of the Nations* is *Modern China, a Political Study* (pp. viii, 380), by Sih-Gung Cheng, relating mainly to the history of the period since 1911.

As judicial councillor to the President of China, Dr. Nagao Ariga has had the privilege of utilizing many official documents in *La Chine et la Grande Guerre Européenne au Point de Vue du Droit International* (Paris, Pedone, 1920, pp. 344). The chief of the German intelligence service at Tsing Tau, W. Vollerthun, has given an account of *Der*

*Kampf um Tsing Tau* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1920, pp. xv, 200) based upon diary records.

Professor Karl Florenz has edited a volume of *Die Historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1919, pp. xvi, 470) for the series of *Quellen der Religionsgeschichte* published by the Göttingen commission. The volume includes the Kojiki (A. D. 712), the Nihongi (A. D. 720), and the Kogoshui (A. D. 808).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. van Gennep, *La Nationalité Géorgienne: les Causes de sa Formation et de son Maintien* (Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie, I. 3); XXX, *Le Gouvernement Koltchak en Sibérie* (Revue de Paris, November 15).

#### AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

After the lapse of eight years, Professor Paul Darmstaedter has published the second volume of his *Geschichte der Aufteilung und Kolonisation Afrikas seit dem Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920), which deals with the epoch from 1870 to 1919.

M. Sabry has sketched events in Egypt since 1914 and given a fuller account of the outbreak in 1919 in *La Révolution Égyptienne, d'après des Documents Authentiques et des Photographies pris au cours de la Révolution* (Paris, Vrin, 1919, pp. 143). The work is anti-British and favors the nationalist movement for independence.

Dr. W. J. Leyds has written *The Transvaal Surrounded: a Continuation of the First Annexation of the Transvaal* (London, Unwin, 1914, pp. xxiv, 603), which was printed before the war but only recently published. The work is, naturally, a vigorous presentation of the Boer side of the question.

E. Guilleaume has supplied the need for a book which should gather the scattered materials and present in reasonable compass an informing account of *La Réunion et l'Île Maurice, Nossi-Bé et les Comores* (Paris, Perrin, 1920).

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is desirous to give all possible completeness to its collection of material for its proposed edition of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, edited for the Institution by Professor John S. Bassett. Efforts are now being made to supplement the letters from and to Jackson preserved in the Library of Congress, most of which have now been transcribed, by the securing of copies of letters elsewhere preserved. All persons who may possess or know of such collections, or

even of individual letters of Jackson, are earnestly requested to communicate with the director of the department, Dr. J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Miss Frances G. Davenport of this department sails for England in June, for further work upon the second volume of her collection of *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States*.

Among the recent accessions to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress we note the Skipwith collection of the papers of Gen. Nathanael Greene, 1777-1783, about 200 pieces; papers of Gen. Henry C. Corbin, 1865-1902, of Henry Watterson, 1863-1920, and of Col. Almon F. Rockwell, 1862-1884.

Since the collection of transcripts which the Library of Congress is receiving from European archives increases so rapidly that few investigators are aware of its great extent and value, it may be well to mention that the librarian's report for 1920 contains (pp. 168-174) a detailed list of a year's accessions, exhibiting the contents of eighteen volumes from the Public Record Office, eight bundles from the Cornwallis papers, and six volumes from the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

There are certain pieces of Americana, not mere curiosities of the press but of good historical uses, which exist in a single known copy, or only in European libraries, or where it is difficult to consult them. Dr. Worthington C. Ford and Mr. Wilberforce Eames have undertaken a series of photographic copies of such rarities, to be preserved in the ten leading libraries of Americana, in the United States, namely, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Newberry Library, and the libraries of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, Yale University, the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Mr. William L. Clements, and Mr. Henry E. Huntington. The reproductions are made by photostat in the Massachusetts Historical Society and are delivered to the libraries bound. The first reproduction, sent out in August, 1919, was the Paris edition of the Columbus letter (Harrisse, no. 5) and to the end of February, 1921, thirty-six volumes have been distributed. Among them were five editions of the letter of Columbus; seven of the letter of Vesputius; the *Carta de Privilegio* (Burgos, 1497) to Columbus; the French edition of Cortés, *Des Marches* (1522); Alfonse, *Les Voyages Avantureux* (Poitiers, 1559); Le Challeux's Ribaut (1566); the anonymous *Provinciae sive Regiones in India* (1520); Nuñez, *Tra-tado da Sphera* (Lisbon, 1537); Cabot, *Declaratio Chartae Novae* (1544); Cortés, *De Contreyen* (Antwerp, 1523); *Libretto de Tutta la Navigazione* (Venice, 1504); Parmentier et Crignon, *Description des Merveilles* (Paris, 1531); Dati, *La Lettera dell'isole* (1495); Frame, *Description of Pennsylvania* (1692); Carré, *Echantillon* (Boston, 1690); the two Heaman tracts on Maryland (1655), and the three broadsides



on Guiana (1626-1627). In nearly every case the works rank among the great rarities; they are derived from a wide variety of European and American libraries. The advantages of having such reproductions have already been shown in identifying doubtful issues, in discovering variations in text and even new editions, and in placing this hitherto inaccessible material where it may be consulted by those interested.

The Century Company announces *The United States*, a three-volume history prepared under the editorship of Professor Max Farrand of Yale University, and designed for the college student, the general reader, and the serious student of American affairs. The volumes will be *Colonial Beginnings*, by Professor W. T. Root of Wisconsin, *The Growth of a Nation*, by Professor Farrand, and *Since the Civil War*, by Professor Charles R. Lingley of Dartmouth College. The third volume is now published.

Professor John S. Bassett has added two new chapters to his *Short History of the United States*, bringing the narrative to the end of the year 1920 (Macmillan).

Messrs. Lippincott have brought out a *History of the United States of America, its People, and its Institutions*, by Charles Morris.

Rand, McNally, and Company have published a volume of *Historical Readings: an Introduction to the Study of American History*, edited, with notes and biographical sketches, by Helen B. Bennett and others, with an introduction by George B. Foster.

Some of the items in the series of *Indian Notes and Monographs* published by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, of New York, are of historical interest; for example, *Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa, and Wahpeton Dakota, with Notes on the Ceremony among the Ponca, Bungi, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi* (vol. IV.), by Alanson B. Skinner; *The Earliest Notices concerning the Conquest of Mexico by Cortés in 1519* (vol. IX., no. 1), by Marshall H. Saville; and *New York City in Indian Possession* (vol. XI.), by Reginald P. Bolton.

*Missing Pages in American History* by Miss L. E. Wilkes, is a compilation of materials relating to the part which negroes have taken in the wars of this country from 1641 to 1816 (the author, 1404 Franklin Street, Washington, D. C.).

*The Policy of the United States as regards Intervention*, by Charles E. Martin, is a recent number of the *Columbia University Studies*.

The December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains a Sketch of the Work and History of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 1845-1920, by Sister Maria Alma, C. I. M., and a History of Catholicity in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, from the Earliest Times to the Present, 1737-1920.

## ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

An account of the companion of Columbus, *Vicente Yañez Pinzón, sus Viajes y Descubrimientos* (Madrid, Imp. del Ministerio de Marina, 1920, pp. 72) is by J. Hernández-Pinzon y Gauzinotto.

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company have issued as souvenirs of the *Mayflower* tercentenary facsimiles of a number of documents pertaining to the Pilgrims. They are: the documents concerning the appraisal of the *Mayflower* (no. 1); the refusal of the Leyden authorities to expel the Pilgrims (no. 2); the marriage certificate of William Bradford and Dorothy May (no. 3); and the Plymouth copy of the first charter of Virginia (no. 4).

The *University of Buffalo Studies*, vol. I., no. 4 (Monographs in History, no. 1), is *A Journal of the Expedition against Cuba, 1762*, by Roswell Park, edited, with a preface, by Professor Julian Park.

The Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth Branch of the Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has brought out as *Publication* no. 3, an interesting study, by Francis Parsons, of *The British Attack at Bunker Hill*.

*Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Sweden, 1814-1905* (pp. 70), by Brynjolf J. Hovde, appears among the *University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences*.

It is announced that volume V. (The Period of Transition: 1815-1848) of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States* will be published in May (Macmillan).

In *Ulysses S. Grant: his Life and Character*, the Macmillan Company has reprinted from the old plates the book of that title, by Hamlin Garland. There is a new preface, of six pages, and the illustrations have been slightly reduced in number. The work was reviewed by the late Professor F. W. Moore when it appeared in 1898 (*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, IV. 377).

Doubleday, Page and Company expect to publish in the autumn a volume of memoirs of Dr. Paul S. Reinsch covering the period of the six years which he spent in China as American ambassador to that republic.

## THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

*The Peace Negotiations: a Personal Narrative*, by Robert Lansing, late secretary of state, was published late in March by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Mr. George Creel's *How We Advertised America* (Harpers, 1920, pp. 467) is frankly put forth as an endeavor to do justice, in the eyes of the public, to the work of the Committee on Public Information of which he was the chairman during the war, as over against the injustice

inflicted by the sudden action of Congress in bringing the committee's work and existence to an end; but all who have any real knowledge of the work done by that organization will be glad that this record of its varied, intelligent, and highly important activities is thus vividly presented. All others should read the book.

The Historical Section of the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, has issued three publications: *German Submarine Activities on the Atlantic Coast of the United States and Canada* (pp. 163); *The Northern Barrage and Other Mining Activities* (pp. 146); and a *Digest Catalogue of Laws and Joint Resolutions* (pp. 64) bearing on the relations of the navy to the Great War.

*Building the Emergency Fleet* (Cleveland, Pepton Publishing Company), by W. C. Mattox, formerly head of the Publication Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, is a historical narrative of the problems and achievements of that organization during the war.

*A History of the 313th Field Artillery, U. S. A.* (New York, Crowell) is the work of twenty of its officers. There is a preface by Captain John Paul.

#### LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

The Prince Society issues as its latest volume (180 copies, Boston, C. E. Goodspeed) *The Ledger and the Record Book of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent*, covering the years 1650-1686, with an introduction by George P. Winship.

The October-November serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains an interesting paper on Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823, by Dr. Samuel E. Morison, with illustrative letters of the years 1820-1823; a paper by Mr. Lawrence S. Mayo on the King's Woods in New England; and a group of a dozen letters and documents, found in Spanish archives by Miss Irene A. Wright, illustrating the imprisonment in Spain, 1612-1616, of John Clark, afterward mate of the *Mayflower*. The December-January number prints important documents from the British Public Record Office respecting the case of Edward Pickering v. Thomas Weston, 1623, relating to the business affairs of the Pilgrims; and a diary kept in England and France in 1778 by William Greene of Boston.

The second volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society's reprint of the *Journals* of the provincial House of Representatives covers eight sessions, extending from May, 1718, to the end of March, 1721. The editor, Mr. Ford, also inserts a brief report of the Council, reprinted

from a unique or rare copy, *The Case of the Muster Rolls of His Majesty's Castle William*, a matter in which there was a disagreement between the House of Representatives and the Council.

Besides the volumes reviewed on another page, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts has issued volume XXII. of its *Publications*, being the first of two volumes of records of the First Church in Plymouth. Volume XXIII. will contain the remainder. Volumes XV. and XVI., containing the early records of Harvard College, are in an advanced stage of preparation.

The January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains an article by Sidney Perley entitled Where the Salem "Witches" were Hanged; also a continuation of Francis B. C. Bradlee's history of the Boston and Maine railroad.

*Instructions for Care of Archives in the Connecticut State Library* (pp. 16), by Effie M. Prickett, chief of the archives department, has been issued as no. 8 of the Library's *Bulletins*. No. 9 of the *Bulletins* is a *Select List of Manuscripts in the Connecticut State Library* (pp. 35). These *Bulletins* are bound with the *Report of the State Librarian* for the two years ended September 30, 1916. The *Report* for the succeeding two-year period (1916-1918) has also appeared. Of especial interest is an account of the work of the department of historical records in assembling material pertaining to Connecticut's participation in the World War.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Dr. James Sullivan, state historian of New York, has discovered among the town records of Huntington, Long Island, a manuscript copy of the Duke's Laws, of which only three other copies are known. The Huntington copy lacks a few of the earlier pages.

The contents of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* include a paper by Sherman Williams on Jedediah Peck, the Father of the Public School System of the State of New York, and the Minutes of the Presbytery of New York, 1780-1782, edited by Professor Dixon R. Fox.

The December *Bulletin* of the Grosvenor Library (Buffalo) contains some interesting Fillmore letters, and an Indian legend respecting LaSalle, preserved among the Seneca and commented on by Hon. Peter A. Porter.

The January number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* includes an address delivered by Dr. Austin Scott before the society in October, bearing the title *Blazing the Way to Final Victory, 1781*, being a discourse upon Washington's conception and conduct of the campaign which closed at Yorktown. Two other interesting papers are: *Historic "Buccleuch"*, its successive Owners, by William

H. Benedict, and the "Pennamite Wars" and the Trenton Decree of 1782, by Frederick W. Gnichtel.

The *Year Book of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies*, 1919 (pp. 128), containing also the proceedings of the fifteenth annual meeting, held in 1920, presents reports from a multitude of societies and affords a most impressive exhibit of good work done in fields of local history.

The Ohio State University's *Bulletin*, vol. XXIV., no. 23 (pp. 117), is a careful treatise on *The Loyalists of Pennsylvania*, in which their history during and after the Revolution is treated with elaborate scholarship, by Professor W. H. Siebert.

*Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society, September 3, 1920, includes three papers relating to the Zimmerman-Carpenter families of Lancaster county; in the issue of *Papers* read October 1 is a history of St. Michael's Lutheran Church at Strasburg, by William F. Worner; in the issue of November 5 is an article, Rafting on the Susquehanna, by D. F. Magee; and in the issue of December 3 is a sketch, by H. M. Hoffman, of John Vogan, Founder of Voganville.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are: one by Charles W. Dahlinger, entitled the Republican Party Originated in Pittsburgh; one by John S. Ritenour, on the Lincolns of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, mainly genealogical in character; and a brief paper by Dr. George P. Donehoo on the American Indian in the Great War.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December are found an historical address by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner on Presbyterian Beginnings in Maryland, some material appertaining to Gérard, first French minister to the United States, contributed by Miss Elizabeth S. Kite, the second of Percy G. Skirven's papers concerning Seven Pioneers of the Colonial Eastern Shore, and other continued articles.

A *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland of the United Lutheran Church of America, 1820-1920, together with a brief Sketch of each Congregation of the Synod and Biographies of the Living Sons of the Synod in the Ministry*, by Abdel R. Wenz, has been published by the Evangelical Press, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

In the month of February the archives of the state of Virginia, now embracing, we are told, some 1,268,000 historical manuscripts, were moved into the excellent new archive building which the state has provided.

The contents of the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are principally continued series. In the series per-

taining to Virginia in the latter part of the seventeenth century are found two letters from Sir Henry Chicheley, lieutenant-governor, and one from Nicholas Spencer, secretary, all dated May 8, 1682, giving accounts of the "plant cutting" disturbances in Virginia. Following the letters are a report upon the matter to the king in council (June 14), and the consequent orders (June 17). The whole story of the revolt against the low price of tobacco and of the efforts to remedy it has an extraordinary similarity to incidents enacted so recently as the year of grace 1920. The story is continued through several documents in the July number, with dates as late as the end of May, 1783. In the July number are also found a biographical sketch and appreciation of the late William Gordon, by Armistead C. Gordon, and a letter from Col. John Banister to Elisha Tupper of Guernsey, July 11, 1775, partly pertaining to business, but also discussing the American situation. The October number contains a body of documents on the boundaries of the Northern Neck.

Beginning with January, William and Mary College has inaugurated the publication of a second series of the *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*. The magazine was established in 1892 by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, then president of the college, and conducted at his own expense. Upon Dr. Tyler's retirement from the presidency he established (about two years ago) *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, with publication offices at Richmond. The editors of the new William and Mary quarterly are Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, president of the college, and Mr. E. G. Swem, librarian. The principal contents of the January number are: an address by Hon. Alton B. Parker, entitled the Foundations of Virginia, delivered at the college in October, 1920, in celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the beginnings of self-government in this country; letters of Beilby Porteus and John Blair relative to the Brafferton estate (1758); notes relating to some of the students who attended the college, 1753-1770; some letters of John Preston (son of the Revolutionary patriot, Col. William Preston) to his brother, Francis Preston (1786 and 1799); a letter of Thomas Dawson, president of the college, to Lady Gooch (1758); a letter of William Hunter, publisher of the *Virginia Gazette*, to President Dawson, relative to Benjamin Franklin (1756 ?); a letter of T. Povey, March 4, 1660, concerning the natural products of Virginia; and various petitions.

The January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* prints a number of petitions presented to the Virginia legislature, one group coming from Charles City County, another from James City County. Among the former are one against paper money (1780), one from the Quakers against slavery (1831), and one from Benjamin Harrison (1834) bearing upon the Revolutionary services of Robert Morris. Among the latter are one from the lessees of the "gov-

ernour's land" (1785), and a petition of Williamsburg for the capitol building (1785).

The *Eighth Biennial Report* (1918-1920) of the North Carolina Historical Commission chronicles among the accessions of manuscripts in the two-year period a body of Regulator records, presented to the state by Hon. Joseph E. Brown of Georgia; a group of papers of Gen. Joseph Graham, pertaining to the years 1813-1836; the George W. Swepson papers (438 pieces, 1866-1870), containing letters of prominent men of the time; the A. L. Brooks collection of autograph letters, particularly of governors of North Carolina; and important additions to the Walter Clark papers, the William A. Graham papers, etc. Many of the older groups of manuscripts have been arranged for use and some thirty-six volumes of them bound. The commission is repairing and arranging the records of the county of Albemarle, which, since Albemarle was the parent settlement of North Carolina, possess an interest for the whole state. Within the period covered by the report seventeen counties have transferred to the commission their non-current records. Embodied in the *Report* is a detailed statement, by Mr. R. B. House, acting under the North Carolina Historical Commission, of the progress made in the collection of records of the Great War. The commission announces that volumes III. and IV. of the *Ruffin Papers* are in the press, and that the first volume (1752-1771) of *The Records of the North Carolina Moravians*, edited by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, is ready for publication.

*The Life, Letters and Speeches of James Louis Petigru, the Union Man of South Carolina* (pp. xxi, 497), by his grandson James Petigru Carson, is published in Washington by W. H. Lowdermilk and Company, with an introduction by Dr. Gaillard Hunt.

The Macmillan Company has brought out *Old Creole Families of New Orleans and their Homes* (illustrated), by Miss Grace King.

#### WESTERN STATES

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December contains a paper by Professor Carl R. Fish on the Pilgrim and the Melting Pot; one by Professor L. B. Shippee on Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm, Agitator, and one by Miss Helen Broshar on the First Push Westward of the Albany Traders. Mr. John C. Parish surveys Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1919-1920. The number also contains a report of inspection of the Ninth Military Department, 1819, by Col. Arthur P. Hayne, U. S. A.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is largely occupied with reprints of materials pertaining to the expedition of Céleron to the Ohio in 1749—Céleron's Journal, Father Bonnecamp's account of the voyage, and an article by O. H. Marshall. Mr. C. B. Galbreath contributes an introduction to the whole.



*The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850*, by Edward A. Miller, Ph.D., published by the University of Chicago as vol. III., no. 2, of *Supplementary Educational Monographs*, is the second of a projected series of monographs on the history of educational legislation in the various states, principally in the period 1776-1850, of which the first was *Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York from 1777 to 1850*, by Elsie G. Hobson (see XXIV. 486). Professor Marcus W. Jernegan writes a general introduction to the work. The author traces the sources of Ohio's public school system and its development, examines the methods of handling the public school lands, outlines the state's slight participation in secondary and higher education, and in general emphasizes the institutional aspects of his subject, the lack of efficient control, and the non-compulsory character of much of the legislation. Two useful appendixes present a classified collection and abstract of the educational legislation of the period, and an index to it.

The work of calendaring the John Tipton manuscripts in the Indiana State Library, upon which Miss Margaret C. Norton has been engaged, has now been finished. Under the direction of the Indiana Historical Commission more than fifty of the ninety-two counties of the state have compiled a history of the parts which they have had, respectively, in the World War.

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains some memoirs of Thomas Jefferson Brooks (1805-1882) pertaining to the pioneer towns of Hindostan, Greenwich, and Mt. Pleasant, edited, with a supplement, by George R. Wilson; a brief paper, by T. J. de la Hunt, on the history of what is called the Pocket of Indiana (the southwest section lying east of Blue River and south of White River and its east fork); and a history of the city of Madison, by the Women's Club of Madison.

Articles in the January number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are, besides continuations hitherto mentioned, the First Catholics in and about Chicago, by Joseph J. Thompson; the Knights of Columbus in the War and After, by the same writer; and Sébastien Louis Meurin, the Last of the Illinois Jesuit Indian Missionaries, by Rev. Charles H. Metzger, S.J. There is also a long and interesting letter from Father Rondot, apostolic missionary, to Father Cholleton, vicar-general of Lyons, written from St. Louis, May 21, 1831.

The Michigan Historical Commission has in its possession a number of sets of the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 39 volumes, with two index volumes. To any member of the American Historical Association who is willing to pay the charges of transportation a set will be presented on application to the secretary of the commission, Dr. George N. Fuller, Lansing, Michigan.

The *Michigan History Magazine* comes forth as a double number for April and July, 1920, and bulks somewhat more than 300 pages, the section designated Historical News, Notes, and Comment occupying 116 of them. Among the historical papers printed are: an account of Detroit Commercial Organizations, by William Stocking; Reminiscences of Life at Mackinac, 1835-1863, by Constance S. Patton; and the Joys and Sorrows of an Emigrant Family, by Joseph Ruff. The October issue contains a full, illustrated account of the Minnesota Historical Society by its superintendent, Professor Solon J. Buck; an article on Aid to Education by the National Government, by the late Dr. Jonathan L. Snyder; pictures and accounts of recent pageants; and a valuable and impressive account of Michigan War Legislation, by Charles H. Landrum.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently acquired files of the *Dakotian*, the *Weekly Dakotian*, and the *Union and Dakotian*, published by George W. Kingsbury at Yankton between 1861 and 1875; also files of papers of the following period, 1875-1902.

Recent accessions of manuscript material to the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society include a mass of material transferred from the office of the secretary of state, including legislative bills and original journals, 1849-1880; also papers of the Rev. Moses N. Adams, missionary and Indian agent to the Sioux, of Capt. Henry A. Castle, prominent Minnesota politician and newspaper man, of Gov. A. R. McGill, and of Col. Hans Mattson. More important still, the society has been selected as the permanent custodian of the valuable library of the Swedish Historical Society of America, consisting of about 5000 books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and newspaper files relating to the Swedes in America. This makes an important addition to the society's already large collections on the Scandinavians in America. The headquarters of the Swedish Historical Society is now in Minneapolis.

Volume XVII. of the *Minnesota Historical Collections* is a book of more than 700 pages dealing with Minnesota geographical names, their origins, and their historical significance.

A collection of about 2000 pamphlets pertaining to slavery, the Civil War, the impeachment of President Johnson, etc., assembled by James W. Grimes, senator from Iowa 1859-1871, is now in the custody of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The society has also acquired a narrative account, by William Clark, of a trip with ox teams from Fort Leavenworth to Utah in 1857.

Articles in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: Providing for a State Constitutional Convention, by John F. Sly; History of Taxation in Iowa, 1910-1920, by John E. Brindley; and the Operation of the Primary Election Law in Iowa, by Frank E. Horack.

The October number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an article by the late Colonel Alonzo Abernethy (1836-1915), entitled Incidents of an

Iowa Soldier's Life, or Four Years in Dixie; one by Judge Milo P. Smith relating his Recollections of Marengo (Iowa); and a paper by Professor F. I. Herriott entitled Memories of the Chicago Convention of 1860, embodying extended notes of a conversation with General Grenville M. Dodge in 1908, and an interview with Hon. Charles C. Nourse in 1907, together with a letter from Nourse to Senator James Harlan, dated June 6, 1860.

Mention was made in the October number of this journal of the inauguration by the Historical Society of Iowa of the *Palimpsest*, a vehicle for the presentation of the materials of Iowa history of a popular sort in a popular form, issued monthly. At that time only the initial (July) number had reached this office. All the issues, to February, inclusive, are now before us. Each number (about thirty pages in extent) contains two or three articles, usually upon subjects of local historical interest, written in a style which will no doubt draw to the *Palimpsest* many readers for whom the more sober historical articles have no appeal. Among the articles which may possess an interest for students of history are Newspaper History, by Bertha M. H. Shambaugh (August); a sketch of General Benjamin S. Roberts, by Ruth A. Galaher (September); Father Mazzuchelli, by John C. Parish (October); Through European Eyes, being observations of the Iowa country by certain travellers, namely, G. C. Beltrami in 1823, Charles Augustus Murray in 1835, Fredrika Bremer in 1850, and R. L. Stevenson in 1879 (November); Crossing the Mississippi, by William S. Johnson (December); and Early Cabins in Iowa, by Mildred J. Sharp (January).

*Welfare Campaigns in Iowa* (pp. 320), by Marcus L. Hansen, is one of the Iowa State Historical Society's series, *Chronicles of the World War*. The author describes the growth of the welfare idea, and recounts the histories of the campaigns of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, the Jewish Welfare Board, the American Library Association, and of the organization ultimately of a united war-work campaign. A closing chapter discusses some special features of the campaigns.

The "Missouri Centennial Number" (January) of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains these papers: the Missouri Tavern, by Walter B. Stevens; a Century of Missouri Agriculture, by F. B. Mumford; a Century of Education in Missouri, by C. A. Phillips; a Century of Missouri Politics, by C. H. McClure; a Model Centennial Programme for Local Celebrations, by E. M. Violette; and One Hundred Years of Banking in Missouri, by Breckinridge Jones.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains a paper, by Miss Mattie A. Hatcher, on the Louisiana Background of the Colonization of Texas, 1763-1803, a continuation of A. K. Christian's biography of M. B. Lamar, and a Ray of Light on the Gadsden

Treaty, by J. Fred Rippy. Mr. Rippy's contribution to the history of the Gadsden treaty is two statements of Santa Anna.

By the will of Major George W. Littlefield, who died in Austin on November 10, an addition of \$100,000 is made to his earlier gift of \$25,000 to endow a Southern History Fund in the University of Texas.

Volume XIX. of the *Publications* of the Nebraska State Historical Society, edited by Albert Watkins, although bearing the publication date 1919, has but recently been received. Besides supplying much valuable material in annotations the editor has furnished two extensive papers to the volume, namely, a history of Contested Election Cases in Nebraska, and the Beginning of Red Willow County. Among the other papers are: Swedes in Nebraska, by Joseph Alexis; Clan Organization of the Winnebago, by Oliver Lamere; First Settlement of the Scotts Bluff Country, by Grant L. Shumway, with a supplement by the editor; Some Indian Place Names in Nebraska, by Melvin R. Gilmore; Bohemians in Nebraska, by Sarka B. Hrbkova; Nebraska in the Fifties, by David M. Johnston; and the Reminiscences of William A. Gwyer.

The positions of curator and assistant curator of history in the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado are vacant. For the former, a young man who has specialized in Western history is desired, to search in a scientific spirit for the materials for the early history of the state, and to organize the work of collecting them. Applicants are requested to write to Mr. William N. Beggs, president of the society, State Museum, Denver, Colorado, stating their qualifications, references, and requirements as to salary.

The most important contribution to the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is a New Log of the Columbia, a journal of the Columbia's voyage around the world, kept by John Boit, which came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1919. The *Quarterly* prints only that part of the journal which pertains to the northwest coast, extending from June, 1791, to October, 1792. It is edited, with an introduction, by Professor Edmond S. Meany. The complete journal may be found in vol. LIII. of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings*. In the same number Judge F. W. Howay discusses the Authorship of the Anonymous Account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage, reaching the conclusion that it was by John Rickman, who sailed as second lieutenant of the *Discovery* and returned as second lieutenant of the *Resolution*.

The September number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is entirely occupied with a paper by Professor F. G. Young entitled Ewing Young and his Estate: a Chapter in the Economic and Community Development of Oregon, with an appendix of documentary records.

Stanford University has acquired a body of letters and papers of Stephen M. White, senator from California 1893-1899, numbering 112 pieces, and including correspondence on the Hawaiian question and on the question of free silver, in the period indicated.

## CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* completes its first volume with its December number. It has vindicated for itself a place of honor among historical journals, and is evidently destined to perform important services to the Canadian nation. The December number contains a valuable historical article by Professor Chester Martin on the First New Province of the Dominion, treating of the acquisition of Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory by the Dominion, and the formation of the province of Manitoba. The editor also prints the journal of an expedition along the shores of Lake Ontario in 1779 kept by Capt. Walter N. Butler, son of Col. John Butler the Loyalist. The March number, which is particularly excellent, contains articles on Nationalism and Self-determination, by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy; on the Duke of Wellington and the Peace Negotiations at Ghent in 1814, by Col. Dudley Mills; on Privy Council Appeals in Early Canada, by Justice Riddell; on Side-lights on the Attempted Union of 1822, by William Smith; and on Confederate Agents in Canada during the American Civil War, by Wilfrid Bovey.

*Ursprung der Französischen Bevölkerung Canadas*, by Louis Hamilton, docent in the Oriental Seminary of the University of Berlin (Berlin, Neufeld and Henius, 1920, pp. 88), discusses chiefly the question as to the provinces of France from which the original settlers came. Mr. Hamilton's estimates are, in per cents, 14 from Normandy, 9 from Brittany, and about 5 each from Ile-de-France, Picardy, Champagne, Languedoc, Burgundy, Guienne, and Gascony.

*A Study in Canadian Immigration*, by W. G. Smith (Toronto, Ryerson, pp. 406), is a pioneer performance in its field, to which it makes a useful contribution.

Volume V. of *Canada in the Great World War* (Toronto, United Publishers of Canada, 1920, pp. viii, 410) has as its sub-title *The Triumph of the Allies*, and covers the period of operations from Passchendaele to the evacuation of the Canadian contingent of the army of occupation in February, 1919. It is mostly written by Mr. Walter Willison and Mr. Roland Hill.

No. 19 of the *Transactions* of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto (pp. 48) contains a number of papers relating to Sir Isaac Brock, mostly his general orders from June to October, 1812.

The Nova Scotia Department of Works and Mines has published a useful pamphlet by Major Joseph P. Edwards on *The Public Records of Nova Scotia, their History and Present Condition*.

Volume XIX. of the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society contains papers on the Post Office in Nova Scotia before Confederation, by Mr. William Smith, on the Life of Sir Samuel Cunard, and on the Inception of the Associated Press, the latter being an account of the "pony express" that in 1849 forwarded European news from Halifax to St. John, whence it was telegraphed to New York.

No. 6 in Professor Archibald MacMechan's *Nova Scotia Chap-Books* is *The Log of a Halifax Privateer* (Halifax, H. H. Marshall, pp. 21) based on the log of the *Lawrence*, 1756-1757.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* for November opens with an important article on the Royal Philippine Company, by Professor William L. Schurz. This is followed by articles on Indian Legislation in Peru, by Mr. Philip A. Means, and on Morillo's Attempt to Pacify Venezuela in 1815-1820, by Miss Laura F. Ullrick. Mr. C. K. Jones's important list of Hispanic American bibliographies is continued from no. 191 to no. 464.

No. 36-37 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* is occupied with a group of geographical descriptions of Yucatan in the sixteenth century, and with censuses of New Spain about 1560. The series of such documents which Professor German Latorre has thus been publishing have now been gathered by him into a volume, *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias* (pp. 121).

Señor Manuel Calero, formerly Mexican ambassador to the United States, has recently published *Un Decenio de Política Mexicana*, written on the basis of close personal relations with Diaz, Reyes, Madero, and other public men.

A movement is on foot, originating with the minister of foreign affairs in Costa Rica, to combine the forces of the five Central American republics in an effort to collect and print historical documents in the Archives of the Indies relating to the history of the old kingdom of Guatemala from its beginning.

Philippe Bunau-Varilla has retold the story of Panama in *La Grande Aventure de Panama, son Rôle Essentiel dans la Défaite de l'Allemagne* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. xiv, 272).

The *English Historical Review* for January contains a valuable body of materials for the early history of Jamaica, 1511-1536, collected from the archives of the Indies at Seville by Miss Irene A. Wright.

The latest of the Prince Consort Prize essays, by Mr. C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688* (Cambridge University Press, pp. xiv, 266), is a study of the foundation of the old colonial system chiefly through the career of Governor Sir William Stapleton.

The sixteenth volume of the publications of the Linschoten-Vereeniging contains Hendrik Ottsen's *Journal van de Reis naar Zuid-Amerika, 1598-1601* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1920) edited by J. W. Ijzerman.

Dr. J. Humbert has produced a useful outline of the *Histoire de la Colombie et du Vénézuëla des Origines jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 219).

The liberation of Ecuador is recounted in D'Amecourt's *Historia de la Revolución de Octubre y Campaña Libertadora, 1820-1822*, vol. I., *Guayaquil* (Barcelona, Borrás, 1920, pp. 407). *Bolívar en el Perú, Últimas Campañas de la Independencia del Perú* (vol. I., Madrid, Pueyo, 1919, pp. 373) by G. Bulnes; *Histoire del Perú Independiente, 1822-1827* (*ibid.*, vol. II., pp. 334), by M. F. Paz Soldan; and *Memorias de Gervasio Antonio Posadas, Memorias de un Abanderado, Nueva Granada, 1810-1819* (Madrid, Editorial-América, 1920, pp. 409), edited by G. Posadas and J. M. Espinosa, are other recent contributions to the history of the Liberator and his work.

The Portuguese colony in Brazil is planning to celebrate the first centenary of Brazilian independence by publishing in six folio volumes, handsomely illustrated, of which the first will appear in 1922, a general history of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil. The first volume will deal with the period of discovery, explorations, and first settlements, the second with the period from 1521 to 1580, the others with later periods. The Portuguese Academy has taken the organization under its patronage, the main direction being in the hands of Dr. Carlos Malteiro Dias.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. E. Chapman, *The Northern Mystery and the Discovery of Alta California* (Grizzly Bear, February); C. E. Chapman, *Drake and New Albion* (*ibid.*, March); P. L. Phillips, *Washington as Surveyor and Map Maker* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, March); A. P. Rugg, *William Cushing* (Yale Law Journal, December); Quincy Wright, *The Control of Foreign Relations* (American Political Science Review, February); Katharine B. Judson, *The Hudson's Bay Company and the Pacific Northwest* (Century, December); Mary H. Krout, *Perry's Expedition to Japan* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, February); Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt* (Scribner's Magazine, February, March); Leonard D. White, *The New Hampshire Constitutional Convention [1918-1920]* (Michigan Law Review, February); F. B. Simkins, *Race Legislation in South Carolina since 1865*, I. (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); M. Chassaigne, *Un Maître des Requêtes, Lieutenant-Général des Armées du Roi M. de la Barre, aux Antilles* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); R. G. Adams, *Santo Domingo: a Study in Benevolent Imperialism* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January).